

# THE REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

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## I.

### THE PREACHER'S THEME.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. HENRY COLLIN MINTON, D.D., LL.D.

"Jesus Christ, the Same Yesterday, and To-day and Forever."  
Hebrews 13: 8.

The setting of these words will easily be recalled as both interesting and somewhat peculiar. The atmosphere of the text is rather ethical than doctrinal, rather practical than theological. The unknown author of this epistle is setting forth Jesus Christ as the end of the believer's conversation. He is the standard of all conduct; He is the goal of all life; He is the ideal of all character. We are "complete in Him."

Jesus Christ is the Author and Finisher of our faith; He is the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last. All things are by Him; all things are for Him; all things are unto Him.

In bringing a message to young men on the threshold of the ministry, no theme could be more appropriate, more comprehensive and I trust more welcome than this. I conceive the supreme work of a theological seminary to be that of equipping men for the work of preaching the Gospel of Jesus

<sup>1</sup> Anniversary sermon to the graduating class of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, May 1908.

Christ. We more frequently make the mistake of seeing that work too little than too large. Great is Christian scholarship and heavy are the demands which this exacting age makes upon it. Great is the influence of Christian literature in book and brochures and daily press; but greater yet is the vibrant voice of the living messenger. Great is the power of penetrating thought and demonstrating logic but greater yet, whatever men may say, is the magnetic power of a sympathetic, consecrated personality, enthroned in the pulpit of the Church of God.

And the greatest factor in twentieth-century preaching, as in the preaching of the first century and of every other, is the greatness of its divine theme. Jesus Christ is Himself the center and the circumference, the foundation and the pinnacle of the preacher's message not only, but also of the preacher's profoundest thought as well. The adjective Christian is almost superlative in the vocabulary of the world's deepest, truest, loftiest and widest thinking. If Jesus Christ—the Christ of history—be true, then He has this placement alongside all other facts and factors of the ages. If Jesus Christ—the Christ of Reason—be true, then He has this place, not eccentric but central, not incidental but essential, in the world's final constructive philosophy. If Jesus Christ—the Christ of our faith—be true, then underlying and overarching all else in the realm of ideal, of aspiration, and of achievement He is unchangeably, eternally true.

Nor do I forget that this is an anniversary occasion and that I am asked to preach an anniversary sermon to-night. In the midst of the passing years we do well to fix our thought upon the things that do not pass. You may have observed, in connection with the exceedingly interesting situation at the present moment in the Roman Catholic Church, how Father Tyrrell, one of the foremost of the modernists whom the Pope so stoutly condemns, counseled the inquiring scientific doubter to hold on to the spiritual essence of the truth, although he may be constrained to surrender his faith in the

dogmas and deliverances of the hour. We believe that Tyrrell has an element of merit in his view, though with consummate adroitness he swings it to a Jesuitical purpose.

There is a constant element in Christianity which underlies and survives all its temporary manifestations. To use the Kantian phrase, it is the noumenon behind the phenomena, the permanent beneath the passing. It is *Jesus Christ, the same, yesterday and forever*. Christianity is able to adjust itself to a thousand social and civil and intellectual conditions; it disseminates its beneficent influences among communities of vastly varying antecedents and limitations and characteristics, it becomes indigenous to the soil of every latitude and longitude but beneath its surface changes are the abiding, unchanging eternal elements which are ever the same; and fundamental to them all, vitalizing them all, permeating them all is the personal, sovereign, indwelling Christ, Himself the Way, the Truth and the Life.

If you will go into any up-to-date bookshop to-day you will find on the shelves more than one volume bearing some such title as this, "The Christ of To-day." The title is suggestive. We talk easily and often of the twentieth century Christ, the nineteenth century Christ, the mediæval Christ, the Apostolic Christ. If we mean anything by such language, I suppose we mean not that Christ changes, but that men's conceptions of Christ change. Every man has his own conception of Christ. All the subtle elements of the personal equation enter into one's conception of Him. Indeed, a man's own conception may change with the going of the years. The Christ of the young and enthusiastic disciple, standing with high hopes on the threshold of his consecrated life, is a far different Christ from that of the old saint whose faith and vision have been chastened and enriched with all the mellowing and softening disciplines of the intervening years. No man sees Christ wholly as He is. His infinite greatness is too vast and varied; the vision is too many-sided. We see Him *as He is*, but not altogether as He is. Our ignorance

of what we do not know cannot cancel the knowledge of what we do know. We catch glimpses of His glory, we see but fragments of his greatness—but we see *Him*. The little child, playing on the beach of the great ocean may never have dreamed of the far-distant shores that are washed by its waves on the other side of the sea; nevertheless, as he tosses the pebble into the shallow billows by the beach, he sees the ocean. There is nothing out of his sight that can contradict what he sees. There is a world of difference between knowledge of a part and ignorance of the whole; it is the difference between Agnosticism, which is the grave of faith, and faith itself.

Different Churches see different sides of Christ and hence, in great measure, the differences in their views and creeds. Every man has his own Christ. Every age has its own Christ, every Church has its own Christ. The Churches do not contradict each other so much as they complement each other. They are more often right in what they affirm than in what they deny. He is neither human only and not divine, nor divine only and not human; He is both human and divine. Shall we say that Jesus Christ is larger than any one conception of Him? Shall we say that we come nearest to the true conception of Him if we effect a synthesis of all the positive views which men, in the light of his own Self-revelation, have framed and cherished concerning Him? And yet, He is the eternal, absolutely changeless One. Men's beliefs grow; Churches shift their positions; opinions and dogmas may fluctuate; but He is the Same, yesterday, to-day and forever.

This absolute changelessness of Jesus Christ is one of the sublimest and most precious faiths in our holy religion.

"The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." The condition of being lost, whatever we may understand that condition to be, so clearly set forth in the Word of God, is always and everywhere the same. It has long since crystallized into a proverb of human wisdom that human nature at bottom is the same the world over. Wherever



in all this world you find a man, you find the essential duplicate of every other man. Creation or Evolution or what not at the beginning, "a man's a man for a' that." This is what gives such a charm to human history; it is that which makes the alcove of biography the most popular and most frequented in all the libraries of human literature. You have read that book which had such a vogue a few years ago, called "The Black Beauty," in which the author presents an old horse whose life-work has been faithfully done, turned out to rich pastures to rest and, by and bye, to die. The faithful veteran is represented as thinking and remembering and reflecting, and we are taken into the confidence of his soliloquies; and we are interested in seeing that a horse thinks and reasons and hopes precisely as men do. We sometimes speak of men as having "horse-sense"; what we really mean is that horses have *man-sense*. In these days of psychological interest in the subconscious and in the consciousness of the sub-human, it is well to know that unless horses think in the same terms in which men think, then we men can know nothing whatever about a horse's thoughts. There must be a common coin in all the wide kingdom of thought. Unless angels and devils think in some very real sense as we think, then we can know nothing about angels and devils, and they can know nothing about us. Unless God Himself and we, his finite creatures, think in the same terms of consciousness, then there can be absolutely no commerce between God and men. His ways are not as our ways nor His thoughts as our thoughts—not because they are essentially unlike in kind, but because His ways are "higher" than our ways and His thoughts are "higher" than our thoughts. Every man understands every other man because they all are men. The savage in the dark jungles of Africa, the king in his royal purple on his throne of power, the slave in the abject thralldom of his chains, the priest in the holy ministrations of the altar, the criminal in the dark hour of the performance of his crime or in the darker hour of his hatching it into being, all these are men

and, in the sympathy and freemasonry of their common human nature, they are able to understand each other. You read how Peter denied his Lord three times over and you hesitate to condemn him too strongly because you know there is a possible Peter in your own heart. You read how Thomas, the worst slandered of them all, doubted the testimony of the others and you withhold your judgment because you know too well that, under circumstances far less justifying, you have far out-Thomased Thomas in your doubts. You read how Judas deliberately betrayed his Lord and, horrified as you are at his treason, you yet realize that there is a possible Iscariot in your own breast. You read how Nero played his violin while his pleasure-gardens were lighted up with the flaming bodies of faithful Christians and you remember that, given the Neronian conditions of irresponsible power, there is a lurking Nero not far from every throne and every heart; and when you read how those faithful martyrs were true to their Lord even to the end, you realize too that the same grace that made them strong is able to give strength and courage to the weakest of their brethren.

For the rescue of this common human nature, Christ came. The disease is the same and the remedy is the same. Wherever sin is found, wherever the guilt of the soul has gone, wherever there is a felt or an unfelt need of help, there Jesus Christ is the same forever. Have you visited St. Peter's at Rome? Then you have seen the confessionals each bearing the name which indicates the language in which the confession will be heard and understood. Here are the *Lingua Italiana*, *Lingua Anglica*, *Lingua Franca*, inviting the Italian, the Englishman, the Frenchman, to come and tell into the ear of one who can understand his tongue, the story of his sinful heart. There is One who understands every heart; He is brother to every man; He knows the common "Volapuk" of the sinful spirit. "He knoweth our frame and remembereth that we are dust." He has been in all points tempted like as we are, "yet without sin." He is the constant, changeless, ever-living Redeemer, and

with all the changes and chances of history and geography, He is the same yesterday and to-day and forever.

The elements of ideal character which men frame and cherish are the same the world over. The eyes of men are everywhere turned upward. They see heights higher than those to which they have yet attained. They are dreaming by night and by day the dreams of perfection. Cut off all the littlenesses and meannesses and uglinesses and infirmities of human nature as we know it, and you are nearing the picture. Every soul has this picture. It may be soiled; it may be dust-covered, it may be neglected; but it is there.

Every man is really two men: his real self and his ideal self. Perhaps it were better to say his actual self and his ideal self; for I wonder whether his ideal self is not more real than is his actual self. There goes that poor fellow staggering in the gutter of the street, and you turn away with mingled emotions of pity and disgust. "Ah me," you say, "Poor fellow, he is not himself now." Not himself? Then who is he? You imply that there is an ideal embodied in the debased wretch and that the real man is not what we see but is the ideal which you have in mind. You hear some man in a fit of temper pouring his vitriol of blasphemy out upon the air and you say, "Just wait a little; he is not himself now." The actual man we hear is not his real self then; the ideal which he is not, is more real than the actual which he is. The thief whose business is robbery dreams of himself as an honest man. The liar who has lied so long that he has lost the fundamental element of truth in that he cannot think truly, still dreams of himself as squaring every word and every thought by the unswerving straight-edge of absolute truth. The libertine whose heart and life are rotten, dreams of himself as a pure-minded, pure-hearted man.

Men's actual selves change with changing incidents and accidents, but their ideal selves, in their essential outline, never. Did you not read in one of our late missionary magazines of the old pagan who had been listening for the first time to

the story of the historic Christ, as it was told by one of our veteran missionaries far in the interior of China, and who afterward came up to the missionary and made this striking statement: "I always knew that there had lived such a man some time but I never heard before that his name was Jesus." The heathen recognizes the picture as his own when once the curtain is drawn aside and he sees in all the purity and beauty and grandeur of his career the Man of Nazareth. The human heart it itself a prophecy and a promise of the coming of the Son of Man. Tallying with this picture, as face to face in the mirror, is Jesus Christ the Same yesterday, and to-day and forever. No soil or climate affects the ideal. Wherever right is honored, wherever the truth is held in reverence, wherever the majesty of character is recognized, there the Christ is recognized. I recall the substance of a remark made in a recent book by a brilliant Frenchman to the effect that if in the course of coming centuries there should appear somewhere among men a man purer in life, nobler in spirit, and more majestic in all the qualities of spiritual achievement than was Jesus of Nazareth, then it must needs be that mankind should transfer their homage from the Jesus whom they now worship and place it upon such an one. With the abstract meaning of such a remark I suppose few of us would care to enter into controversy; but when I read it there came into my mind the remark of that other brilliant, skeptical Frenchman, Ernest Renan, who said "Whatever may be the developments of the future, Jesus of Nazareth will never be surpassed."

If Jesus Christ is changeless, it follows that His words, His teachings, His principles are changeless too. A changeless Christ means a changeless Christianity at bottom. What He spoke once, He spoke for all time. He was not simply the teacher of the truth He taught, He was not simply the author of it, He *was the Truth*. He was Christus Revelator. The fact that He spoke them with the lips of Man, did not make the essential elements of Christianity any truer than

they otherwise had been. Coleridge said he would have believed in the Trinity if there had been no New Testament; he would have believed *ad normam Platonis*. Christianity is rational but rationalism is not Christianity. It is not enough that we believe it to be true—"Truth is in order to Goodness." Religion must be not only good, it must be good for something. "By its fruits it shall be known." The crowning chapter in the study of theology is that of *Soteriology*. The supreme test of Christianity is the trial of its Christ and the final test of Jesus Christ, is not as the logos of the philosopher, not as the Rabbi of the schools, not as the incarnation of the truth, anæmic, statical, crystallized in the dry light of the understanding, but as the friend of sinners, the healer of lepers, the leader of the blind, the *Salvator Hominum*. There never has been a time when the world was hungrier for the Gospel of Jesus Christ than it is to-day. There are many distracting and disturbing influences; the ax is being put to the root of many a tree. The critic's knife has done some reckless cutting and slashing but the Word still remains. "The Word of God is an anvil that has worn out many a hammer." It will be the positive note that will attract and command. Goethe said "Preach me your faiths, I have doubts enough of my own," and if Goethe wanted more faith so do smaller men. It is at the educating of the ignorant, it is at the opening of the eyes of the blind, it is at the mere recital of the dogmas of the past or of the present, it is the warm, tender, sympathetic, patient Christlike saving of the lost which is the supreme task and crowning glory of the preacher of the Gospel to-day. Churches may revise their creeds; these creeds are but their interpretations of Christianity; the Christianity which they interpret is changeless. It is a finality. If the Christ of Christianity is changeless, then the Christianity of Christ is changeless. The world is growing better and truer and larger just as it is growing into a clearer view and more perfect knowledge of Jesus Christ. No civilization civilizes without Him; no education educates without

Him; no redemption redeems without Him. What the world needs to-day is a better knowledge of Jesus Christ; rather, what it needs is a fuller and more complete baptism of His spirit. It is beautiful but not accurate to say that Christ is Christianity and Christianity is Christ. There is a difference between the sunlight and the sun. The sun is in the midst of the heavens and the sunlight falls upon the face of the fields and flowers on the earth. And yet we may truly say in a sense that it is the sun that shines all about us and lights up the face of nature. Christianity is nothing without the Christ; He is its heart, its glory, its essence, but there are indirect forces, social, civil, moral, which are to Him what the sunlight is to the sun.

I have heard that many years ago a certain American student who had been spending a season in Germany was about to return to his own country when it occurred to him that it would be a great thing to be able to carry home with him the autograph of the great teacher of philosophy at whose feet he had been sitting. Accordingly, he called up the great man who was none other than the great idealistic philosopher, J. G. Fichte, and happily finding him in a propitious mood, he requested him to write his name in his little album that he might keep it as a souvenir for years to come. Upon getting his consent, he grew bolder and suggested that, along with his name, he should also write some brief sentiment in his booklet. The great man, whose fame filled the world, quickly seized his pen and wrote rapidly in German script, while the young man's heart was palpitating with pride as he thought with what eagerness his friends at home would read the dictum which was that moment coming from the great man's pen. Imagine with what interest he took the album from the philosopher's hand and read these words: "Jesus Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

Then, too, I have heard how that great teacher of evangelical truth, Professor Tholuck, was accustomed now and then to close his lecture-book at the end of the hour and say to the

young men in his classes, "Young men, I have only one enthusiasm—it is Christ, it is Christ."

Young gentlemen, as you go forth to the greatest and most glorious work ever committed to human hands, let that be your supreme enthusiasm. There are many pressing and perplexing problems to-day; you will need wisdom and strength peculiar to your age; but without enthusiasm you can do nothing and there is no enthusiasm so deep, so abiding, so powerful, as this. In the face of the difficulties you will find, and they will be many; in the presence of the problems you will be called upon to solve, and they will be great; problems commercial, problems political, problems intellectual, problems social, problems religious you will need great faith, great hope, great charity, but in the midst of them all you will find no sustained and sustaining enthusiasm like this, "It is Christ, It is Christ."



## II.

### TEN YEARS OF GERMAN THEOLOGY.

BY PROF. D. B. SCHNEIDER, D.D.

Any calm study of German theology is valuable because, after all, Germany leads in theological thought. The main problems and tendencies that are at hand there will come to America later. The Germans think—think things through, down to their foundations and in all their relations. *Orientierung*, correlation, thoroughness, industry and freedom characterize their work. These qualities also produce groupings and crystallizations in thought, that make a study of the situation comparatively easy.

The reason for limiting this study of German theology to ten years of its history is a personal one. The writer undertook to present a survey of the state of German theology for the REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW ten years ago<sup>1</sup>, and the aim of the present article is to give a brief review of the movements that have taken place since. The circumstance of the passing of the old century and the incoming of the new, included in this period, gave rise to literature<sup>2</sup> which makes the decade under review especially interesting.

What theological results has an inventory of the past ten years to show? In a few words, some important theological literature has been produced; one school of thought has almost, and another<sup>3</sup> entirely, vanished; the school that was in

<sup>1</sup> See REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW, 1897, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> During this period Seeberg's *Die Kirche Deutschlands im 19ten Jahrhundert*, Weinl's *Jesus im 19ten Jahrhundert*, Chamberlain's *Grundlagen des 19ten Jahrhunderts*, and many lesser productions of a similar nature appeared.

<sup>3</sup> The *Vermittelungstheologie* came to an end with the deaths of Bey-schlag and Köstlin.

the zenith of its influence ten years ago has begun to wane, and a vigorous new school has arisen which is now the storm-center of theological and ecclesiastical controversy.

But in order to understand the movements that have gone forward it is necessary to study them in their setting; in other words, to study the Germany of to-day. This in itself is something that may well engage our attention and our deepest interest.

The first element to be mentioned as helping to constitute the setting for the German theology of the past ten years is philosophy. The prevailing philosophy of Germany has continued to be that of Kant. Secure as was the supremacy of this philosopher ten years ago, his sway is still more absolute now. Submission to Aristotle during the Middle Ages was more slavish but not more general. The Critique of Pure Reason has been the almost undisputed canon for the thinking of the past ten years. Hegel is entirely dead, except in so far as his development idea is taken in conjunction with the evolutionary hypothesis to determine the principles of historical study and criticism. The history of philosophy, psychology, sociology and the philosophy of history, but above all, the exposition, criticism and application of Kant, have engaged the activity of the thinkers. Metaphysics in the ordinary sense of the term is conspicuous by its absence, although recently a tendency toward the study of metaphysical problems has again begun to show itself. The substantially new is a more constructive tendency in psychology, and a view of the history of philosophy that makes this discipline itself the subject of a higher science. The evolutionary idea has gained in universality of application.

But there are two words in the thought-life of Germany that have a profounder relation to the German theology of to-day than even philosophy.

The first of these is *Weltanschauung*. It is a word that can be heard from the pulpit, on the street, and in the café, as well as in the lecture-rooms of the universities. The mod-

ern scientific view of the world has forced itself to the front among all classes of people. The revelations of astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology have led many to a conception of the universe as a closed order of existence, boundless in space and time, governed by absolutely uniform and fixed laws, and undergoing a slow process of evolution according to mechanical forces from lower to higher stages. But more important than this conception of the universe are the conclusions drawn from it. If the universe is so vast, how can man occupy the position of importance in it that was once attributed to him by the older views which made the earth the center of the universe? If the order of existence is a closed quantity so that there can be neither increase nor decrease in the total sum of energy, and if there can thus be no working in upon this order from without, how can God have anything to do with it? How can miracles be possible, how prayer avail? If the higher forms of life are evolved according to mechanical forces from the lower, how can man be essentially different from the animal or, ultimately, from the stone? How can there be any good or evil, and how any future life? The greatest impulse to this trend of popular thought came in 1899 from the publication of Haeckel's *Welträtzel*. The book called forth wide-spread and vigorous attack, not only from theological, but also from scientific and philosophical circles. Virchow and Du-Bois Reymond led the antagonism from the standpoint of science, and the philosopher Paulsen said: "I have read this book with burning shame—shame that such a book was possible, that it could be written, printed, purchased, admired, believed by the nation, that possesses a Kant, a Goethe, I may add, a Schleiermacher. It is painful." Haeckel is an investigator of nature than whom Germany boasts no greater, but as a philosopher he stands on antiquated ground and is easily controverted. Nevertheless his book has reached a sale of two hundred thousand, and is doing its work among the people. On the basis of the teachings of Haeckel as contained in *Welträtzel* and also in a former book entitled

Monismus, a "Monist League" has been formed which declares that it is an error and a hindrance to culture and civilization to believe either in supernatural forces working as free causes upon the world, or in a future life as the aim and completion of this earthly life. The purpose of the league is to free people from the thralldom of religious beliefs; and to carry out this purpose an active propaganda has been organized in which Haeckel himself takes part, and which works through local associations, lectures and the sale or free distribution of printed literature. An attempt is even made to hold monist religious services, reminding one of the positivist cult of half a century ago. Another circumstance that in a negative way is helping on the movement toward a thoroughly naturalistic view of the world is the effect of biblical criticism. The indiscriminating mind finds little in the results of this activity except occasion for doubt and unbelief, and in its perplexity it reaches out with joy to a *Weltanschauung* apparently so self-consistent as that of Ernst Haeckel.

From *Weltanschauung* it is not far to *Lebensanschauung*. If the universe is an order of existence completely natural, if man is an infinitely insignificant part of this order, if the conceptions of good and evil are deprived of their essence, if there is no future hope, then the old view of human life cannot any longer be considered rational. A new view must be formed. Perhaps the chief contributor to such a new view of a rational course of human life under the new *Weltanschauung* is Haeckel himself. His latest book, *Lebenswunder*, deals with this problem, and leads his positions as given in *Welträtzel* to their logical conclusions in human life.

"The worth of our human life, on the firm basis of the evolutionary theory, appears in quite a different light from what it did fifty years ago. We are accustoming ourselves to regard man as a phenomenon of nature, and withal the highest that we know." "Every living being is its own end." "Every

special form of life, every individual and every species is only a biological episode, a passing appearance in the changing process of life. Man in this respect forms no exception among the vertebrates." "The practical life of man, as of all higher social animals, is governed by instincts and habits, which are denominated morals." "Our monism looks upon ethics, as upon all knowledge, as physical science, and rests on the conviction that moral laws are not of supernatural origin, but acquired through the adjustment of the social mammals to their natural environments, and therefore to be traced back to physical laws." These are a few stray quotations from the popular edition of this book, which is also finding an immense sale in Germany.

Another indication of a change in the prevailing view of life is the popularity of the ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche. For nearly two thousand years within the sphere of the Christian nations there has been no serious question concerning the ethical teachings of Christ. The more nearly men could live as Jesus of Nazareth lived and taught, the more nearly right they were—so it has been thought. But at the close of the nineteenth century in the heart of Christendom a strange, erratic, gifted man steps upon the stage and declares against the morality of Jesus, yes, against all morality of the past. Christian morality is an agency that works in the interests of the poor and the weak at the expense of the strong; it is a leveling principle, a suppressor of exuberant life, a hindrance to human progress. The morality with which he would displace this hemming, hampering morality of sympathy and pity, is a morality of the strong for the strong. Not pleasure, not peace, not happiness, but power is the true aim of life. The fundamental appetency of life is a desire for power; therefore to strive after power is most profoundly moral. It is a morality of unevenness, not of evenness; a morality of aristocracy, not of democracy. It is a *Herrenmoral*. God there is none. The God for the modern man is the ideal of the *Ueberschensch*. These teachings are clothed in a style

of fascinating beauty, and they have come at a time when the German nation is ripe for them. The present is a time of questioning in Germany, a time of search after something new. At the same time it is an era of growing national strength and of increasing pride in that strength; a time of glorying in the achievements of a Bismarck, and Bismarck does not symbolize meekness. As a consequence it is not surprising that the half-demented poet-philosopher is producing a deep impression upon the German mind. The Christ of the vast non-church-going part of the educated male population is Friedrich Nietzsche, and Germany, perhaps, has no greater enemy than this man.

Yet the probability is that there is another enemy that is still greater. The growing strength of Germany has already been referred to. Germany has become prosperous. Her patient application of science and education to every activity and interest of human life has made her efficient in everything to which she puts her hand. Her own natural resources, her colonial acquisitions, and her expanding commerce have vastly added to the results of her industry. But this prosperity and the working for greater prosperity are pleasant. Hence amid the doubts awakened by science, Biblical criticism, and the wrangling of the ecclesiastical parties, and amid the conflict of ideals—Christian, Nietzschean, Buddhist and what not, it is not strange that a large proportion of people ignore ideals altogether and live for money, position and pleasure. Certain forms of conventionality must be kept up, but the substantial part of a life is a share in the splendid material prosperity of the country. A vigorous, feverish, confident activity during the day and an overflow of sensuous pleasure in the evening and at night—this is the order of life. In addition to the theoretical materialism of Haeckel this cool, calculating practical materialism has become a power in Germany and threatens to blight all that is most sacred and best in human life. It is true that this is not the whole of the picture.

There is still a certain proportion of people that remain true to the Christian faith and the Christian view of life, and this proportion is even probably larger than it was at the beginning of the last century. On the whole it is improbable that Christianity is really losing ground. But it is undoubtedly true that the majority of at least the male population is predominantly under the above-mentioned influences.

These are the forces of philosophy, *Weltanschauung* and *Lebensanschauung*, with which theology has been face to face during the past ten years, and it is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the theology of these years that its history and its groupings have been determined almost entirely by the attitude taken toward these great factors in the life of the present. Perhaps another equally notable characteristic is the moral earnestness which has characterized the theology of these years. Even in the most radical tendencies there is no spirit of wantonness present. On the contrary there is an attitude of seriousness in reference to the problems of religion and human life that is reassuring.

Taking German theology then as it has gone forward during the past decade amid the above-mentioned environments, what work has been done and what movements have taken place?

First, as to the sphere of the criticism of biblical and early Christian literature two great men have toiled assiduously and honestly—Adolf Harnack and Theodor Zahn. Besides these many others have been active; for of the past decade as of several previous ones it must still be said that chief attention has been given to critical and historical rather than constructive work. The general result of the work in this field has been that some important problems have come substantially nearer to a final solution, and that the progress made has been on the whole more favorable to the moderate rather than the extremely radical views. Harnack in the preface to the second part of his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* ten years ago affirmed that the tide of criticism of the sources of early Chris-



tianity had turned in the direction of tradition. Recently in his preface to *Lukas der Arzt* he has said that the events that have taken place since have justified him in his position. His two recent contributions to the literature of New Testament Introduction<sup>4</sup> stand for Luke's authorship of the third Gospel and of Acts, and the use in Matthew and Luke of a document in addition to Mark that was independent of Mark and Paul, free from any "tendency," and written in a circle that believed in Jesus' resurrection. Moreover, the genuineness of most of the Pauline epistles is now established probably beyond much further question. The general tone of criticism has also become more sober. Baur's method of rejecting what did not fit into his Hegelian categories has lost caste. One hears men like Harnack, Kaftan, Holtzmann and Jülicher joining the conservative theologians in protesting against subjectivism in critical research, and wild hypotheses have probably seen their best days.

The main interest of this article, however, lies in the domain of dogmatic theology. To trace the movements in this sphere it is best to give attention to the different types of prevailing theological thought both in their inner tendencies and their outer relations to each other, to the church and to society at large.

I. The school of thought that still occupies the highest place in the German church is the conservative. The German government is favorable to this school. Recently the Prussian Cultus Minister openly avowed his conservative position. Toward the universities the policy of the government has been to give representation to both conservatives and liberals; but in the controversy recently aroused by the claim of the liberals for recognition of their side also in the pulpits, the government has stood in favor of the conservatives. The large majority of the pastors are also conservative, and

<sup>4</sup> *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das neue Testament*, von Adolf Harnack. I., "*Lukas der Arzt*"; II., "*Sprüche und Reden Jesu.*" Harnack formerly denied Luke's authorship of the third Gospel.

the great body of the church-going people of Germany hold to the traditional theology. The claim that in the few cases where liberals were recently elected to pastorates, it was the religiously indifferent that determined the result, is probably well founded. Moreover, nearly the whole of that very earnest and rapidly growing home and foreign missionary work which the German church is now doing is pervaded by a pietistic and theologically narrow spirit.

However, conservative theology as represented in the university chairs is no longer the homogeneous thing that it once was. There still remain men who occupy the position that theology as based on the authority of the Bible and the confessions is an independent quantum and has nothing to do with philosophy, science and the spirit of the times. But these are no longer representative. The majority are men who are alive to the peculiar needs of the present, and sensible of their responsibility to that main part of the German church which looks to them as leaders and educators of its future spiritual shepherds. A movement that represents this class of men generally was inaugurated several years ago in the form of a series of what might be denominated "tracts for the times." They are entitled "*Biblische Zeit und Streitfragen*," and were started as an offset to similar popularizing movements in other schools of thought. The prospectus of these pamphlets declares that in recent decades there has been a prodigious advance in the sense of the historical, and that this phenomenon in the sphere of theology has led some to say that the accepted understanding of Christianity can no longer maintain itself in the face of scientific biblical criticism. "It cannot be denied that the older apologetic has sometimes failed in exercising a proper degree of candor. So much the more urgent is the task falling to the lot of 'positive' theology toward the educated, and toward the community in general. Its duty is, through calm, deliberate research, to set forth its actual historical findings, and in so doing to be guided by the strictest truthfulness and avoid all suppression of facts

and all apologetic gloss." The authors of the pamphlets stand on the basis of revelation. They are of the conviction that there has been a miraculous historical process wrought of God, whose center is Jesus Christ. But they believe that historical research is not only necessary but helpful in placing Christianity on a firmer basis. The Bible is no longer looked upon as an outward principle of authority but as an embodiment of spiritual truth which authenticates itself directly to the heart. All the leading theologians of the conservative type, including the venerable Prof. Weiss, are on the list of contributors.

But when one comes to individual thinkers the ways begin to part. Luthardt and Cremer have passed away during the decade. Their most prominent successors as representatives of the old confessional orthodoxy are Schlatter of Tübingen and Walther of Rostock. The greatest living representative of the conservative side in general is Kähler of Halle. Kähler in his position of exclusive dependence upon revelation, like most of the leading conservative theologians, is in close agreement with Ritschl, and with Ritschl he rejects all philosophical attempts to establish the grounds of faith. But from this point on he pursues a course entirely his own. He stands distinctly on the basis of the Bible. However, he takes the Bible not as necessarily giving a correct picture of Jesus' life and teachings, but as reflecting the faith of the apostles and the early Christian community. As to the contents of his theology he stands in all respects upon the evangelical basis. Other important names are those of Ihmels and Kirn of Leipzig. Both of these men represent in a modified form, the views of Frank and the Erlangen school. However, Ihmels, a young and able theologian, stands firmly for the essential elements of the traditional orthodoxy, while Kirn, the successor of Luthardt, is now closely approaching a moderate Ritschlian position.

But the newest movement in the conservative ranks is designated by the term "modern positive theology" or "the modern theology of the old faith." The intent of the move-

ment is evident from the words quoted:—there must be upon the basis of the essential truths of biblical Christianity such a new formulating of doctrine as will square with the established results of modern research and thought, and as will be adapted to meet the trend of modern life. Professor Seeberg, the representative of conservative theology in Berlin University, has called for such a new theology, and all his utterances are in line with this tendency. However, he has not worked out his ideas in systematic form, unless his recent brilliant lecture<sup>5</sup> before the students of all faculties of the university on the fundamental truths of Christianity be understood in this sense. According to his view the chief, although not the only, phase of the modern *Weltanschauung* of which theology must take account is the all-pervading evolutionary idea. Grütz-macher of Rostock stands in close relation with Seeberg. Theodor Kaftan has written an able work<sup>6</sup> also from this standpoint, but the fact that his position is very nearly that of his Ritschlian brother, Professor Kaftan of Berlin, shows how narrow the gap has become between the more liberal conservatives and the more conservative Ritschlians. Excepting the extremely orthodox men the whole conservative school has moved perceptibly nearer the Ritschlian position than it stood ten years ago.

II. *The Ritschlian Theology.*—The Ritschlian theologians have done earnest and faithful work during the past decade. Kaftan's "Dogmatik" ranks easily as the most important work in the sphere of systematic theology that has appeared in recent decades. Harnack's *Wesen des Christenthums* has reached a circulation of fifty thousand. Works by Hermann, Reischle, Lobstein and others have helped to swell the important list. But in spite of this fact what must

<sup>5</sup> Die Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion, von Reinhold Seeberg. The lectures are considered an offset to Harnack's *Wesen des Christenthums*. They have brought upon their author bitter attacks from within the conservative school itself, some denominating him "Vermittelungstheolog," and the late Professor Cremer labelling him a Ritschlian.

<sup>6</sup> *Moderne Theologie des alten Glaubens*, von Theodor Kaftan.

be said concerning the Ritschlian school as a whole is that it has passed its period of greatest influence and is now on the wane. The expectations of the movement have not been realized in the particular form which they took. It was the earnest belief of the Ritschlian followers that this new statement of Christian truth would lead to a great revival of religious life, just as Schleiermacher's position and work revived the church of his time. It was hoped that the planting of theology directly upon faith in the revelation of Christ, its non-dependence upon science and metaphysics, and freedom in biblical criticism would be met with a joyous welcome on the part of the dissatisfied but truth-seeking people. Consequently a large program was formulated. Two important series of books<sup>7</sup> on the various branches of theology were planned and to a large extent carried through. A weekly paper,<sup>8</sup> a weekly review of theological literature,<sup>9</sup> a bi-monthly theological magazine<sup>10</sup> were started as organs of the movement. A circle called "Freunde der Christlichen Welt" consisting of pastors and laymen who favored the movement was organized, and these "friends" have been holding meetings in a free way in various localities throughout the country. However, the impression made upon the religious life of the nation cannot be said to have been marked, and what is more, a wide-spread reaction against most of the Ritschlian positions has taken place in theological circles themselves. This does not mean that the influence of Ritschlianism has disappeared. Rather must it be said that the best elements of it have become the common property of all tendencies in theological thought. The fundamental position of Ritschl that dogmatics must take as its basis the historical revelation of God through Jesus

<sup>7</sup> Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher und Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften, published by J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen.

<sup>8</sup> Die christliche Welt, edited by Professor Rade, of Marburg.

<sup>9</sup> Theologische Literaturzeitung, edited by Professors Harnack and Schürer.

<sup>10</sup> Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, edited by Professor Gottschick, of Tübingen.

Christ, as over against all speculation or mere subjective experience, is now disputed by few, of whatever theological type they may be in other respects. This practically unanimous acceptance of its fundamental thought is the glory of the Ritschlian theology.

But when this is said nearly all is said so far as the present position of this school is concerned. No young men have been won for this school during the past ten years.<sup>11</sup> The names that were prominent ten years ago are the prominent ones still. Among the leaders divergences that originally were slight have become wider. Kaftan, not avowedly yet really, has in a measure reintroduced metaphysical elements into theology, as appears in his "Dogmatik." Moreover, his recognition of men's direct relation to the glorified Christ removes him far from Ritschl. Hermann departs from Ritschl's attitude of opposition to pietism and mysticism to such an extent that he can almost be said to be starting a new movement. His position also concerning the theory of knowledge and concerning the risen and exalted Christ and our relation to him is very different from that of the founder of this school of thought. Reischle<sup>12</sup> has so stated the conception of the value judgments as to make them more acceptable than, but widely different from, Ritschl's conception of them. Häring's<sup>13</sup> teaching concerning the atonement is more nearly like that of the older theology than like that of Ritschl's great work or of Kaftan's Dogmatik. But while all of the above-named thinkers, who may be denominated right wing Ritschlians, have drawn closer to the conservatives as the conservatives have drawn closer to them, others of the Ritschlian school have moved in other directions. Otto Ritschl has started out on a new pathway in that, while he declares that theology in its present form must cease to lay claim to recognition as

<sup>11</sup> An exception might be made as to Wobbermin, a promising young theologian, now of Breslau. But he is departing so far from the Ritschlian position as to reintroduce metaphysics into theology.

<sup>12</sup> *Werthurteile und Glaubensurteile*, von Max Reischle.

<sup>13</sup> *Zur Versöhnungslehre*, von Theodor Häring.

knowledge, he endeavors to find a new basis for this theological discipline in the science of psychology. Troeltsch, although still retaining some of the Ritschlian ideas, can no longer be properly classed with the Ritschlians.

III. With the death of Beyschlag and Köstlin it may be said that the mediating theology (*Vermittelungstheologie*) which once played so large and honorable a part in German theology and in the German church, has passed out of existence. Yet there is a sense in which the mediating theology continues to live in the Ritschlian theology. The mediating theology toned down some of the sharper points of the old orthodoxy and endeavored to take up into itself the speculative philosophy of the great post-Kantians, and in both these respects the Ritschlian theology stands in diametrical opposition to it. Yet the fundamental *motif* of the two is not different. Ritschlianism also took up a philosophy, the Kantian, and also sought to come to an understanding with the prevailing spirit, thus endeavoring to mediate between the old faith and the new times just as truly as the mediating theology.

A very short paragraph also suffices for the old liberal or rationalistic school, once represented by the great trio, Biedermann, Lipsius and Pfeiderer. Pfeiderer alone remains. For years he has been a solitary figure in German theology. His calm fearlessness, his personal piety and the grand sweep of his religio-philosophical ideas have always attracted a small number of enthusiastic hearers to him. But for his philosophical proofs of the truth of Christianity there is little taste in these days of empiricism, and as for the dialectical method inherited from Hegel, he himself has given it up in his constructive thought, and in biblical criticism both with him and German biblical scholars generally it plays less and less of the role it did in Baur's critical work. Pfeiderer has become less solitary in the past few years, however, because his studies in the history of religion form a connecting link between him and the newest theological tendency in



Germany, the History of Religions school. A number of younger theologians are gathering around him and taking him into their company.

IV. The most vigorous group of theological thinkers in Germany to-day is what is usually called the History of Religions school (*Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*). This group of men still honors the name of Ritschl, and has as one of its chief leaders Troeltsch, ten years ago a prominent Ritschlian. But they have given up most of the distinctively Ritschlian ideas and have struck out on a new path. The spirit of the movement is one less of opposition to older views than of an endeavor to formulate theology in such a way as more effectually to meet modern conditions. Accordingly the effort is to look historical deliverances and present experiences squarely in the face and to regard nothing too sacred to be included within the domain of critical inquiry. In other words its method is strictly inductive. Moreover, because of the general acceptance of the evolutionary principle in the current thought of to-day, particular prominence is given to this principle both in the methods of study and in the statement of conclusions.

The starting-point of the movement is the position that Christianity has hitherto been taken too much as an isolated quantum—a solitary craft gliding down the stream of time without connection with what exists on the shores. This procedure has rested on the assumption that Christianity has been given from above, while the other religions are of human origin. But any careful study of the facts leads to the conclusion that the whole situation must be conceived of differently. Increasing study shows in increasing degree how the teachings of Moses and of the prophets, of Jesus and of Paul, were but a taking up and an assimilation of teachings that existed earlier in other oriental religions. Hence what is fundamental is the study of the historical origin of the Christian religion, and this is the work that occupies the chief attention of this school thus far. The investigation is being

carried on in various ways. Troeltsch's work is a broadly comparative study of all religions from the evolutionary standpoint. Gunkel is investigating the origin of religious ideas as such. Weinel and Wernle are more directly occupied with the immediate sources of primitive Christianity. Otto Ritschl studies the psychology of religion, which also plays a large part in this movement. The weight of attention, at least for the present, is given to *religion* as the broad basis for Christianity directly. Bousset's *Wesen der Religion* following closely Harnack's *Wesen des Christenthums* was significant of the beginning of this new movement.

The group of theologians representing this movement is very active. Literature is appearing at a rapid rate. An enterprise above referred to, to popularize theological thought by means of issuing a series of booklets called *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, is engaging the efforts of a wide circle of writers, among them such veterans as Pfeiderer, Holtzmann, Wellhausen and Jülicher. The fact that such prominent Ritschlians as Hermann and Kattenbusch are also on the list is an indication that the break with the Ritschlians is not absolute. The first of this series of booklets is Wernle's *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*. In his preface the author says: "The question, Who was Jesus? occupies the attention of the people of our time more powerfully than perhaps any previous generation. In the collapse of old forms and institutions and in the breaking in of the great New that each one is hoping for and no one knows, the eyes of all are turned upon Jesus more intently than ever before. That just at this time he has something to say to us, that just at this time we need him, is less a clear perception than an over-powering feeling." But, the author goes on to say, Jesus can speak to us only if we know him as he was. There is danger that in our study of him there may come to us from this pivotal point in history only the echo of our own fond imaginings. What is needed is the compelling influence of a strict historical investigation that will endeavor to set him forth as a clearly-outlined personality, regardless

of what our wishes or hopes may be. This booklet by the author of *The Beginnings of Christianity* has already reached its twentieth thousand. Another one of the same series on "Jesus" by Bousset has reached its thirtieth thousand. The whole series already numbers nearly fifty. Another series consisting of volumes of larger size under the general title of *Lebensfragen* is being issued under the editorship of Weinel of Jena. This series undertakes to deal in a free and scientific manner with the fundamental problems of religion and morality, so to meet the needs of those who are no longer able to find satisfaction in the traditional forms of religion. While volumes of a historical character are included, an announcement is made that the purpose of future volumes will be especially "to deal with problems of *our* piety, to meet the onslaughts of *our* time, and to help to create through the spirit of the Gospel a Christian world." Problems concerning the relation between science and religion, problems of ethics and sociology, and problems pertaining to education in school, church and home, are to be taken up. Besides these two series other important works have appeared, as, for example, the previously-mentioned book by Bousset on the nature of religion, Wernle's *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, Meyer's *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Neville's *Modernes Christenthum*, and Troeltsch's *Die Absolutheit des Christenthums und die Religionsgeschichte*. It may also probably be said that *Die christliche Welt*, originally an organ of the Ritschlian movement, is now more fully the organ of the History of Religions tendency.

Coming now to the general features of thought that characterize this band of theologians, the first that deserves mention is the strong emphasis that is placed upon the necessity of religion as such. There is here a great contrast with the flippancy and iconoclasm of the *Aufklärung* at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A deepening sense of the need of religion among German thinkers generally seems to have taken special hold of these men as they are endeavoring to look with

clear, scientific gaze upon the materialistic, pleasure-seeking multitudes that are as sheep having no shepherd, and to speak to them with a voice sufficiently audible to be heard above the din of modern life. A second characteristic is dependence upon revelation. The charge has been widely made that because of the prominence given to the evolutionary principle in religious history, these theologians have no room for revelation. But this charge is repudiated by them. New light, new truth, and new inspiration come to men from God, laying hold of them and transforming them. God may be wholly immanent in the evolutionary process, but in any case he is "above," and light and life come down from him. The central revelation, according to the unanimous opinion of these thinkers, has come into the world through Jesus. Other avenues of revelation there may be. Other personalities may become enlightening and quickening forces. Nature too reveals. But the life of Jesus of Nazareth was so filled with the life of God, his consciousness was so entirely a God-consciousness, all the motions of his mind, heart and hand were so perfectly attuned to the divine will, and his whole vision of man's life was so true, that in the history of man's striving after God his life is unique and epochal. He is *the* one who can give a satisfying, quickening answer to the ultimate problems of human life. Perhaps not to all of this group of theologians, but at least to the majority he is the one who has spoken "the last and highest word" concerning man's life in relation to God and the world. Hence, while these thinkers cultivate a magnanimous attitude toward all religions, Christianity is for them the highest, for some of them the absolute, religion. Christianity is the sum of a body of ideas and forces that came from Judaism and the other oriental religions *plus* something new that came through Jesus, and this new, in the words of one of the leaders, "is greater than the sum of all the other elements, and is revolutionary in its effects." The History of Religions school is not monistic in its philosophy after the order of Haeckel, but distinctly dual-

istic, recognizing in addition to the evolutionary natural process an in-working from above. As a consequence of this last position there is found in the third place a peculiar emphasis on conversion. A life of ministration to the natural, selfish appetencies of the soul is not the ideal life for man. To attain to his true life he must break with the lower, natural order, and surrender himself to God and to a life of love and self-sacrifice in him. This breaking with the lower and turning to the higher is less an act of man's own will than of the compelling power of Jesus as revealing the truth of God. It is because of this fact that Christianity is above all else a religion of redemption. Moreover, while the beginning of the Christian life is marked by an epoch designated conversion, its continuance depends upon the rehabilitation of what Ritschl strove so vigorously to banish from the conception of the Christian life, namely, the idea of the mystical. A mystical communion between man and God, cultivated by worship, meditation and the sacraments, is essential to keeping aglow the sacred flame upon the altar of the heart.

A fourth feature of this new way of thought is the peculiar position given to the person of Christ. There is a contrast of exaltation and humiliation here that seems irreconcilable to an outside student. On the one hand the figure of Jesus is pictured as so lofty that his head certainly seems to tower above the clouds of the merely human. Bousset in his *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* speaks of him as the leader of our souls to whom we say: "Thou art the way, the truth, and the life." Wernle at the conclusion of his "*Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*" says: "If then much about this man is and remains mysterious to us, we are not repelled, for we can comprehend that it must be so. It dawns upon us that the soul of which this great and wonderful New takes possession for the first time in such a way that this New becomes a saving power to humanity,—that such a soul must be one that is animated by emotions and awakenings quite different from those of the average of us

smaller men; that here at the apex of history, out of the contact of God with man, of the eternal with the temporal, mysteries, wonders, thoughts of a super-human mission, must necessarily spring which, clothed in the transient vesture of Jewish thought and Jewish forms of expression, often seem peculiar and strange. Even this we can understand, that precisely this mystery of a creative Revealer has become the founding principle of the greatest communion; that faith in Jesus brought into existence the Church."<sup>14</sup> Weinell uses the words: "So grows faith in God quietly and strongly—albeit not without doubt and struggle and prostration—in the heart of him before whose soul Jesus has appeared clear and strong as the Savior of life, and authenticates himself in suffering and guilt, in order to lead the believing one ever more forcefully and deeply into the feeling of nearness to God as a power for all good above our confused world and our bewildered spirits."<sup>15</sup> Jesus is "the mighty personality from whom the centuries have derived strength." Thus is Jesus exalted. But on the other hand he is not the Son of God. Not even does he have for us "the value of the Son of God" after the Ritschlian fashion. Frankly and plainly this latest, most modern and very active school of German theology joins with Otto Pfleiderer, the last remaining landmark of the old liberal theology, in saying that Jesus of Nazareth was purely and only human. Moreover, the critical attitude taken toward the records concerning him in the gospels, as well as toward the writings of Paul, is exceptionally extreme, a phenomenon that can perhaps be explained in part by the fact that apologetically this school depends primarily, not on historical records, but on the contents of Christianity as we now have it.

The attacks upon this group of thinkers have been and are extremely bitter. The epithet "unbelieving theologians" is flung at them by pulpit and press. It is felt that the very citadel of the Christian faith is in danger. The combination

<sup>14</sup> *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, von Paul Wernle, p. 86.

<sup>15</sup> *Jesus im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, von Heinrich Weinell, p. 319.

of professors and pastors representing this tendency with men of the Ritschlian school in insisting on the rights of the new theology in the pulpits as well as in the university chairs, has served to intensify the conflict. The church authorities and the great body of the church-going people, most conservative theologians and the conservative religious papers stand arrayed in uncompromising opposition to this new thought. In the face of this general onslaught the Ritschlian scholars have in general been sympathetic with the History of Religions group. Yet even among them there has been difficulty in keeping step, and notes of protest have been sounded. Kaftan in a "friendly polemic"<sup>16</sup> has taken issue with Bousset and Wrede concerning their views on Jesus and Paul, and in general expresses a low estimate of the value of the study of the history of religion for Christian theology. He also takes occasion to voice his dissent from the current disposition to discredit Paul as a source of knowledge concerning Christ and early Christianity. Hermann, Reischle and Kattenbusch have also not been able to refrain from words of opposition.

Ten years ago and for many years before the Ritschlian theology was under almost as bitter attack as the religious history theology is now. As a result much of what was once held as an integral part of this theology has been given up. Husks have been swept away, and yet a kernel remains. The Ritschlian theology has done abiding service to Christianity. Just as the reformers taught that no priesthood is needed to mediate between man and God, so Albrecht Ritschl has made forever clear that God is not to be approached through the mazes of speculation, but directly as revealed in Jesus Christ. Moreover, the deep sincerity of the best representatives of this movement has led them in their own way to positions that are essentially evangelical. Is it too much to hope that this new movement will have a history similar to that of its pre-

<sup>16</sup> Jesus und Paulus: Eine freundschaftliche Streitschrift gegen die Religionsgeschichtlichen Volksbücher von Bousset und Wrede, von J. Kaftan.



decessor? Ritschlianism established the *Ausgangspunkt*, the point of departure, of Christian theology; the History of Religions school has begun to work out from this center toward the circumference. Its method is inductive. Its aim is practical. As it can be said that it is the first thoroughly inductive movement in the history of Christian theology, so it can also be maintained that it is in exceptionally sympathetic touch with the deep problems and needs of the age. Will it not ultimately lead Christian theology to a new and higher pathway of usefulness to Christ's church and to a groping, hungering humanity?

The History of Religions school is still in an immature stage of development. In fact it can not properly be called a school. It has not yet produced any representative work on dogmatics.<sup>17</sup> It is rather a tendency represented by a group of prominent theologians. The permanent results thus far achieved by the researches carried on in the fields of religious history and religious psychology, especially in their bearings upon Christian theology, are still meager. Of Buddhism and Mohammedanism, which are given a place almost on a level with Christianity, there is as yet not much deep, first-hand knowledge. But there is to-day a wide field for a new movement in the sphere of Christian theology, and the History of Religions school is the most likely to occupy it. Theology must be delivered from the vise of Kant's Critique of the Pure Reason, which although probably the greatest among philosophical classics, yet studies man in his nature-ward relation only. The religious phenomena of the world's history, their causes, and their effects upon human life must be clearly brought within the purview of science. Religious psychology also offers a vast sphere of research. The progress of civilization thus far has been characterized largely by improvements merely in man's environment,—increase in conveniences, comforts and refinements. But there is room for a new

<sup>17</sup> Professor Weinel is now planning to write such a work.

stage of civilization that will aim definitely at the improvement of man's inner life and of the social relations that grow out of this inner state. As medical science has for centuries studied man's physical constitution, and has learned scientifically to apply effective means to the cure of disease and the advancement of health, so the time has come for theology to address itself more seriously than ever before to the task of bringing divine truth into direct, scientific application to man's spiritual corruption and misery so as more effectively to cure and revivify. In the midst of the most splendid material civilization that the world has yet seen, humanity's moral and spiritual condition is profoundly unsatisfactory, and pessimism is growing. There is a call for more zeal on the part of religious teachers, more compassion for the multitudes, more scientific study of spiritual realities and relations, more strict adaptation of means to ends; more faith, more hope, more love. The theology that can answer this call most successfully will earn the blessing of God and the gratitude of generations yet unborn. Whether the History of Religions school of Germany will measure up to this requirement is still a question. One thing is certain: it has struck a deep chord. Yet there is also the danger that this new movement may run itself out in mere negation and fruitlessness.

SENDAI, JAPAN.

### III.

#### POETIC POINTS OF VIEW.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. EDWARD S. BROMER, D.D.

In passing from Hugh Clough to John Keats and from Matthew Arnold to Robert Browning we make complete the circle of life. It seems every age must do so for itself in order to find peace. "What makes life, then? It is made neither by what is beyond us nor by what is within us. It is made by the response of what is beyond us to what is within us,—or by the response of what is within us to what is beyond us—by the harmony between the two." Spencer says that perfect correspondence between environment and life would mean eternal life. Henry Drummond adds, "To know God is to correspond with God. To correspond with God is to correspond with a Perfect Environment." Jesus, nineteen centuries ago said, "This is life eternal, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Thus it is that mankind is ever restless until it finds itself complete in Him. Augustine's famous confession is the confession of the race, "Thou awakest us to delight in thy praise; for Thou madest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless, until it repose in Thee." Any evolutionary theory with the First and the Last omitted, or any halting in present greatness and sufficiency of reality, will not satisfy man for any great length of time. "We may trace the First that has given birth to the Last, but that does not suffice for our mental rest. We must see how the Last goes back to the First again. The circle must be complete. Somewhere the leap of faith must be made.

<sup>1</sup> The first part of this paper appeared in the current January number of the REVIEW.

We quote from the first part of this paper. "John Keats . . . emphasized the necessity of the 'seeing eye,' the contribution of the 'subject' to the sense of reality of knowledge. Hugh Clough held fast with all the purity of his moral life to the necessity of the 'object,' i. e., that all knowledge is rooted in perception."

The one was an extreme realist; the other, an extreme idealist. In taking up our study of Matthew Arnold we have a restless halting between the two. His words in the Stanzas from the Grand Chartreuse are confessional and the typical description of his own experience as one,

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead,  
The other powerless to be born."

Robert Browning completes the circle. His poetry is instinct with life rooted in experience, recognizing the limitations of life and yet refusing to be bound by them, restless in the finite yet ever resting in the Infinite.

"A mind like this must dissipate itself,  
But I have always had one lode-star; now,  
As I look back, I see that I have halted  
Or hastened as I looked toward that star—  
A need, a trust, a yearning after God.

And what is that I hunger for but God?"

*Matthew Arnold* (1822-1888) was the eldest son of Thomas Arnold, of Rugby. He was born at Laleham, Middlesex, December 24, 1822. His life story may be briefly sketched as follows: Educated at Rugby; studied in Baliol College, Oxford; graduated with honors, 1844; elected fellow in Oriel, 1845; became private secretary to Lord Sandsdowne in 1847; lay-inspector of schools in 1851; professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1857-87; died at Liverpool, April 15, 1888.

His literary work is important both in poetry and prose. The poetry was almost all written in his early and the prose in his later life. They are profoundly different in tone and spiritual quality. Both are sane and courageous, but the for-

mer is filled with a sense of futility, gloom and despair; the latter is strong, cheery and buoyant. His poetry is the witness of his restless heart, yearning in courageous sadness for what is not or at least not yet; his prose is effort of his mind to solve the contradictions of the age in a theory of culture, which would touch morality with emotion and call it religion.

It is his poetry that primarily claims our attention. In it we get his point of view. Whatever refuge his mind temporarily found in his view of culture as the solution of life, it is manifest to a careful reader that it is a descending series from Essays in Criticism through Culture and Anarchy, Literature and Dogma, God and the Bible, St. Paul and Protestantism, to Essays on Church and Religion. The apologetic tone and spirit increases constantly to the end. The theory frays out into ends and ravel. Principal J. C. Shairp, in Culture and Religion, states the case clearly as a fair estimate of Arnoldism and its results. "The chief thing culture has taught is that not in *itself* is God to be found." It is, therefore, Arnold's poetry that gives the best he has to offer. His later intellectual apprehension of life never did nor could satisfy the restless cravings of his heart as manifest in his poetry.

The study of his poetry as the product of his early life would naturally make an analysis of the formative elements of his character interesting. To say that he was educated at Rugby, graduated from Baliol, Oxford, fellow in Oriel, alone tells much, but when we speak of the Rugby of Thomas Arnold and the Oxford of Newman and Ward much more is said. Preceding this entire period was that of the French Revolution and the Reaction which followed. With these came the rise of the new sciences. The conditions surrounding Hugh Clough and Matthew Arnold were practically the same and the resultant tendencies in the point of view and lives of these two friends were very much alike. Both revolted from the introspective method and spirit which grew out of the elder Arnold's system of discipline whilst they imbibed his strict sense of fact and morality. Both felt the finer

artistic and literary effect of Newman and the claims of the Tractarian Movement, but both rejected the reactionary tendency as the intellectually impossible and morally decadent.

We have to do with a man of singular sanity and keenness of mind, hating illusion, unflinching in courage, sternly honest, intolerant of the vague and the mystic, loyally adherent to fact.

"Yea, I take myself to witness,  
That I have loved no darkness,  
Sophisticated no truth,  
Nursed no delusion  
Allow'd no fear." (Empedocles on Etna.)

Two characteristic quotations from his prose writing fairly characterize the spirit of the man.

The first one states his definition of poetry. Poetry is after all "to interpret life for us, to console us and sustain us." It should be a noble and profound application of ideas to life; it should be moral in the deepest and largest sense of the term; should deal directly with life, which is itself three parts made up of conduct; and it should be based on sound subject matter."

The second reveals his own attitude to his age. "Undoubtedly we are drawing on toward great changes; and for every nation the thing most needful is to discern clearly its own condition, in order to know in what particular way it may be best to meet them. *Openness* and *flexibility* of mind are at such a time the first of virtues. '*Be ye perfect,*' said the great founder of Christianity. '*I count not myself to have apprehended,*' said its greatest Apostle. Perfection will never be reached, but to recognize a period of transformation when it comes, and to adapt ourselves honestly and rationally to its laws, is perhaps the nearest approach to perfection of which man and nations are capable. No habits or attachments should prevent their trying to do this; nor indeed in the long run can they. Human thought which made all institutions, inevitably saps them, resting only in thought which is absolute and eternal."

These quotations sufficiently characterize the man and prepare us to turn at once to the study of his poetry as illustrative of his point of view.

Despite his reaction from the introspective method, his claim for objectivity of poetic treatment, his refuge in the moral neutrality of nature, many of his poems are personal enough and serve an autobiographical purpose. The most important of these are stanzas from the *Grand Chartreuse*, *Obermann*, *Obermann Once More*, *Empedocles on Etna*, *Consolation*, *Resignation*, *Isolation*, *Despondency*, *Dover Beach*, *Growing Old*, *Youth of Man*, *Palladium*, *Progress*, *Morality*, *Self-Dependence*, *Rugby Chapel*, *Lines Written in Kensington Gardens*, *The Future*, etc.

We do not pretend to study these poems as individual poems but will freely use them in seeking Arnold's point of view. In so doing we will pursue the following cumulative course of thought: his sense of the breaking up of the old; his lack of grasp on the new; his refuge in nature; his stoical emphasis of conduct and morality; his idea of progress and hope.

There are three of the poems suggested above that stand out prominently as defining both Arnold's spiritual condition and his times; namely, *Stanzas from the Grand Chartreuse*, *In Memory of the Author of Obermann*, and *Obermann Once More*. The elements of the situation are the revolutionary upheavals in political and social life, the breaking up of the old faiths and creeds of the scientific and religious life, the restless seeking and struggling and finding no resting place, promise of the new but no real evidence of its coming. The historical background is the same as that outlined for the study of Keats and Clough in the former paper and need not be repeated here.

In the *Stanzas from the Grand Chartreuse*, he flees from the rush and struggle of modern life to the ruins of the ancient cloister of that name, the parent monastery of the Carthusian Order, founded in 1084, A. D.

"The silent courts, where night and day  
Into their stone-carved basins cold



The splashing icy fountains play—  
 The hurried corridors behold!  
 Where ghost-like in the deepening night  
 Cowl'd forms brush by in gleaming white."

There too the

"... pilgrim-host of old  
 From England, Germany, or Spain—  
 All are before me! I behold  
 The house, the Brotherhood Austere!—  
 And what am I, that I am here!"

The question startles him. The memory of the rigorous teachers "who" seized his youth and taught him to seek the "white star of truth" flashes through him and demands, "What doest thou in this living tomb?" The answer is significant and typical.

"Forgive me, masters of the mind!  
 At whose behest I long ago  
 So much unlearn't, so much resign'd—  
 I come not here to be your foe!  
 I seek these anchorites, not in ruth,  
 To curse and to deny your truth;

"Not as their friends, or child, I speak!  
 But as, on some far northern strand,  
 Thinking of his own Gods, a Greek  
 In pity and mournful awe might stand  
 Before some fallen Runic stone—  
 For both were faiths, and both are gone.

"*Wandering between two worlds, one dead,  
 The other powerless to be born.*  
 With nowhere yet to rest my head,  
 Like these, on earth I wait forlorn.  
 Their faith, my tears, the world deride—  
 I come to shed them at their side."

He stands, indeed, in pity "and mournful awe . . . before the Runic stones" of his own age, "for both were faiths and both are gone." The world ever cries in his ears

"... your faith is now  
 But a dead time's exploded dream."

In melancholy he realizes that the old standard of belief

"Is a pass'd mode, and outworn theme."

What could Byron's cry, or Shelley's song or Obermann's  
wail help? "What boots it" all?

"Have restless hearts one throb the less?"

Sadly he looks into the future, unable to offer a remedy for  
the age's ills, hoping against hope.

"Years hence, perhaps, may dawn an age,  
More fortunate, alas! than we,  
Which without hardness will be sage,  
And gay without frivolity.  
Sons of the world, oh, speed those years;  
But, while we wait, allow our tears!"

In Obermann and Obermann Once More the same melancholy voice is heard. These poems rescue from oblivion Senacour's best work called by that name. In one of his essays, Arnold says "Obermann has qualities which make it permanently valuable to kindred minds." Now Senacour is described as having "Voltairean cynicism mingled with Rousseauesque sensibility—the latter augmenting a desire to believe while the former made faith impossible." It is this in both Senacour and Arnold that made the affinity which to kindred minds made Obermann valuable.

"I turn thy pages, I feel their breath  
Once more upon me well;  
That air of languor, cold and death,  
Which brooded o'er thy soul."

With Senacour he classes Wordsworth and Goethe as three who "in this our troubled day" could "see their way." Wordsworth did so because he had averted his "ken from half of human life" and Goethe's lonely, royal road "few of the sons of men may think to emulate."

"Too fast we live, too much are tried,  
Too harass'd, to attain  
Wordsworth's sweet calm, or Goethe's wide  
And luminous view to gain."

"And then we turn, thou sadder sage,  
To thee! we feel thy spell!—  
The hopeless tangle of our age,  
Thou too hast scann'd it well!"

As Obermann he finds himself "clear" in mind, "chill" in feeling, "icy" in despair. The adage "*Strive not! die also thou!*" appeals to him strongly. The poet's blood is feverish with two great opposing desires,—

"One drives him to the world without,  
And one to solitude."

The one who really sees and understands, however, is not in the strife and struggle. It is he who renounces all. It is Obermann he feels once more so near and comforting though his "realm of thought is drear and cold." And yet he cannot rest.

"Away the dreams that but deceive  
And thou, sad guide, adieu!  
I go, fate drives me; but I leave  
Half of my life with you.

"We, in some unknown Power's employ  
Move on a rigorous line;  
Can neither, when we will, enjoy,  
Nor, when we will, resign.

"I in the world must live; but thou,  
Thou melancholy shade!  
Wilt not, if thou canst see me now,  
Condemn me, nor upbraid."

What constantly impresses one in reading these poems and Obermann Once More, Dover Beach and several others, is his sense of the breaking up of the old faiths. Especially in Obermann Once More we find a most beautiful and fascinating treatment of the theme—the decay of faith—from the early classical days through Christianity to the present time. The greatest avalanche was the last.

"Down came the storm! O'er France it pass'd  
In sheets of scathing fire;  
All Europe felt that fiery blast,  
And shook as it rush'd by her.

"Down came the storm! In ruins fell  
The worn-out world we knew.  
It pass'd, that elemental swell!  
Again appear'd the blue;

"The sun shone in the new-wash'd sky,  
And what from heaven saw he?  
Blocks of the past, like icebergs high,  
Float on a rolling sea!

"Upon them plies the race of man  
All it before endeavour'd;  
'Ye live,' I cried, 'ye work and plan,  
And know not ye are sever'd!

"Poor fragments of a broken world  
Whereon men pitch their tent!  
Why were ye too to death not hurl'd  
When your world's day was spent?

"That glow of central fire is done  
Which with its fusing flame  
Knit all your parts, and kept you one—  
But ye, ye are the same!

"The past, its mask of union on,  
Had ceased to live and thrive.  
The past, its mask of union gone,  
Say, is it more alive?"

One almost feels, in thinking of the rise and fall of human hopes, a spell of melancholy coming over us, such as one feels still more in giving oneself freely to the fascination of the deep poetry of Dover Beach. Who that has felt the weariness of life's struggles and sat by the sea-shore has not lulled himself into rest with these words—

"Listen! you hear the grating roar  
Of pebbles which the waves draw back, and fling,  
At their return, up the high strand,  
Begin, and cease, and then again begin,  
With tremulous cadence slow, and bring  
The eternal note of sadness in.

"The Sea of Faith  
Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore  
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furled.  
But now I only hear

Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,  
 Retreating, to the breath  
 Of the night-wind, down the vast edges drear  
 And naked shingles of the world.

"Ah, love, let us be true  
 To one another! for the world, which seems  
 To lie before us like a land of dreams,  
 So various, so beautiful, so new,  
 Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,  
 Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;  
 And we are here as on a darkling plain  
 Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,  
 Where ignorant armies clash by night."

What really makes the melancholy of Arnold's poetry is not his sense of the breaking up of the old, but his failure to grasp the new.

"Years hence, perhaps, may dawn an age,  
 More fortunate."

But he lives in the *meanwhile* which finds not joy and knows only the peace of resignation, and hard labor and patient waiting. The deep pathos of his poetry is felt when we realize that one so strong and courageous and masculine as Matthew Arnold says—

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead,  
 The other powerless to be born,  
 With nowhere *yet* to rest my head."

Or again—

"Your creeds are dead, your rites are dead,  
 Your social order too!  
 Where tarries he, the Power who said:  
*See, I make all things new!*"

And once more—

"But now the old is out of date,  
 The new is not yet born,  
 And who can be *alone* elate  
 While the world lies forlorn?"

He feels that the times are too fast and rash and over-busy to get at the real problem.

"But we, brought forth and rear'd in hours  
Of change, alarm, surprise—  
What shelter to grow ripe is ours?  
What leisure to grow wise?

"Like children bathing on the shore,  
Buried a wave beneath,  
The second wave succeeds, before  
We have had time to breathe."

In what direction could a sincere and courageous man like Arnold go to find himself and give his age something to ease and inspire it with hope? His idea of the poet as a teacher and inspirer, and his high ethical sense of life, would not let him rest in the conclusions of Senacour.

"Away the dreams that but deceive  
And thou, sad guide, adieu!

*I in the world must live."*

He could not accept the revolutionary faith of Shelley nor rest in the evolutionary faith of Tennyson and Browning; for neither Comtism nor the fast-rising Darwinism appealed to him. The ideas of progress or development for him contained no secret panacea. The world sorrow rested heavily on his heart. The marvelous material progress and prosperity of the age was no solution of the real problem. It seemed only to reveal more glaringly the raw "Philistinism" of the middle classes in particular and of Englishmen in general. Of his later efforts to interpret in his prose writings the problem of human destiny in the idea of culture and conduct, we will have something to say farther on. In his early years it is evident throughout all his poetic writings that he circled in the reactionary eddy of the past revolutionary period and yet not without vigorous protest.

It is interesting to note the directions his sturdy temperament took in seeking rest and strength and hope.

His very style and conception of poetry portrays as a reflex influence the outlets his soul sought. He tried hard to quench the introspective mood and method and sought objectivity in

style and subject. Hence his effort at fact and descriptive treatment on the one hand and his choice of material from the ancient classical period on the other. In our discussion we have restricted ourselves largely to his more personal poems, in which the claims of his heart outweighed all his theories.

In nature he found at least a temporary refuge. There he found something to sooth, comfort, and uplift. For this reason he admired Wordsworth, and acknowledged him as a spiritual master as one

"... who was a priest to us all  
Of the wonder and bloom of the world."

It is not, however, a sort of subtle mystic communion with nature that upholds him. It is far rather the fact of her moral indifference to the struggles, sufferings and aspirations of man. The unresponsive, unvarying, regular, insensible cosmic movements stimulate instead of depress him. They arouse in him to sublimity the highly-developed stoical element of his character. Above the storm and stress, "the lurid flow of terror and insane distress and headlong fate," man's faith and hope and love should be unmoved and unmovable.

"Calm soul of all things! make it mine  
To feel, amid the city's jar,  
That there abides a peace of thine,  
Man did not make, and cannot mar.

"The will to neither strive nor cry,  
The power to feel with others give!  
Calm, calm me more! nor let me die  
Before I have begun to live."

(Lines written in Kensington Gardens.)

The same voice is heard in *Resignation*, in which he sees the poet's larger work.

"The poet, to whose mighty heart  
Heaven doth a quicker pulse impart,  
Subdues that energy to scan  
Not his own course, but that of man."

Further on in the same poem, he adds,



"Before him he sees life unroll,  
A placid and continuous whole—  
That general life, which does not cease,  
Whose secret is not joy, but peace;  
That life, whose dumb wish is not miss'd  
If birth proceeds, if things subsist;  
The life of plants, and stones, and rain,  
The life he craves—if not in vain  
Fate gave, what chance shall not control,  
His sad lucidity of soul."

And again,

"The world in which we live and move  
Outlasts aversion, outlasts love,  
Outlasts each effort, interest, hope,  
Remorse, grief, joy;—and were the scope  
Of these affections wider made,  
Man still would see, and see dismay'd,  
Beyond his passion's widest range,  
Far regions of eternal change."

And finally,

"Enough, we live!—and if a life,  
With large results so little rife,  
Though bearable, seem hardly worth  
This pomp of worlds, this pain of birth;  
Yet, Fausta, the mute turf we tread,  
The solemn hills around us spread,  
This stream which falls incessantly,  
The strange-scrawl'd rocks, the lonely sky,  
If I might lend their life a voice,  
Seem to bear rather than rejoice.  
And even could the intemperate prayer  
Man iterates, while these forbear,  
For movement, for an ampler sphere,  
Pierce Fate's impenetrable ear;  
Not milder is the general lot  
Because our spirits have forgot,  
In action's dizzying eddy whirl'd,  
The something that infects the world."

Quotations might be multiplied easily enough. We cannot  
forbear citing one more.

"Then, when the clouds are off the soul,  
When thou dost bask in Nature's eye,

Ask, how she view'd thy self-control,  
 Thy struggling, task'd morality—  
 Nature, whose free light, cheerful air,  
 Oft made thee, in thy gloom, despair.

"And she, whose censure thou dost dread,  
 Whose eye thou wast afraid to seek,  
 See, on her face a glow is spread,  
 A strong emotion on her cheek!  
 'Ah, child!' she cries, 'that strife divine,  
 Whence was it, for it is not mine?'

"There is no effort on my brow—  
 I do not strive, I do not weep;  
 I rush with the swift spheres and glow  
 In joy, and when I will, I sleep.  
 Yet that severe, that earnest air,  
 I saw, I felt it once—but where?

"I knew not yet the gauge of time,  
 Nor wore the manacles of space;  
 I felt it in some other clime,  
 I saw it in some other place.  
 'Twas when the heavenly house I trod,  
 And lay upon the breast of God."

This leads to the very citadel of Arnold's strength—the high emphasis of the ethical. "Conduct is three-fourths of life," he claims and fully verifies in both his poetry and prose and in his personal life as well.

"Unduped of fancy, henceforth man  
 Must labor! must resign  
 His all too human creeds, and scan  
 Simply the way divine!"

Along this line of thought the following poems run in rich suggestiveness: *Memorial Verses*, 1850, *Resignation*, *Quiet Work*, *Morality*, *Religious Isolation*, *Lines Written in Kensington Gardens*, *Dover Beach*, parts of *Empedocles on Etna*, *A Summer Night*, *Rugby Chapel*, etc.

Life is earnest, a stern and hard affair. Its higher paths are steep and precipitous. As he views it

"Most men eddy about  
 Here and there—eat and drink,

Chatter and love and hate,  
Gather and squander, are raised  
Aloft, are hurl'd in the dust,  
Striving blindly, achieving  
Nothing; and then they die.

Some, some few, there are in whom the "ardent, unquenchable  
thirst" for the best burns and they would strive

"Not without aim to go round

Not without action to die."

They have chosen their path—

"... to a clear-purposed goal,  
Path of advance!—but it leads  
A long, steep journey, through sunk  
Gorges, o'er mountains in snow."

But there is a good, be assured. Though "the way is long,"  
it leads

"On, to the bound of the waste,  
On, to the City of God." (Rugby Chapl.)

It is one of the seeming contradictions of Arnold's sturdy  
and courageous melancholy that it combined a deep sense of a  
necessity which was almost an unalterable fate with the refusal  
of his heart to rest in it as satisfactory and final. It seems  
we must be "madman or slave," for

"Limits we did not set  
Condition all we do,"

and

"To tunes we did not call our being must keep chime."

But despite all he sees a "fair lot for each man" still.  
"Though men so fear and fail," why should they not "dare  
to trust the joys there are?"

"I say: Fear not! Life still  
Leaves human effort scope,  
But since life teems with ill,  
Nurse no extravagant hope:

Because thou must not dream, thou need'st not then despair!"

It is a splendid note of interpretation of his ethical spirit we find in his Essay on Marcus Aurelius, where he says, "The object of his systems of morality is to take possession of human life, to save it from being abandoned to passion, or allowed to drift at hazard, to give it happiness by establishing it in virtue. In its uninspired as well as in its inspired moments, in its days of languor and gloom, as well as in its days of sunshine and energy, human life has thus always a clue to follow, and may always be making way toward its goal."

All this is beautifully substantiated in the poems—*Revolutions, Progress, The Future.*

"Say ye: 'The spirit of man has found new roads,  
And we must leave the old faiths, and walk therein'?—  
Leave then the Cross as ye have left carved gods,  
*But guard the fire within!*

"Bright else and fast the stream of life may roll,  
And no man may the other's hurt behold;  
Yet each will have one anguish—his own soul  
Which perishes of cold.

"Here let that voice make end; then, let a strain,  
From a far lonelier distance, like the wind  
Be heard, floating through heaven, and fill again  
These men's profoundest mind:

"Children of men! the unseen Power, whose eye  
For ever doth accompany mankind,  
Hath look'd on no religion scornfully  
That men did ever find.

"Which has not taught weak wills how much they can?  
Which has not fall'n on the dry heart like rain?  
Which has not cried to sunk, self-weary man:  
Thou must be born again!

"Children of men! not that your age excel  
In pride of life the ages of your sires,  
But that ye think clear, feel deep, bear fruit well,  
The Friend of man desires."

In concluding this study of Arnold and making the transition to Browning, we recur for a moment to the title—*Poetic Points of View.* The chief characteristic of Arnold we can best state in his own words—

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead  
The other powerless to be born,  
With nowhere yet to rest my head."

Objection might be made at once that in his later life as reflected in his prose works he did find where to rest his head. It is true his prose has a culture theory of life, constantly repeated, yet ever beautifully told in its variations and repetitions but his final expression of himself fully revealed the unsatisfactoriness of his theory. He found where "to rest his head" but not his heart. His poetic point of view is clearly, as defined above, a swaying between the subject and object, between a dead past and for him an unknown future, between a longing to believe with his heart and the impossibility of faith to the mind. One of his critics says of him, "He was skeptical and critical, discontented and unsettled but his influence was on the whole good." We would add that the man who exalted the artistic and beautiful and made famous Swift's words, "Sweetness and Light" in so doing; the man who lived so courageously and steadily and illustrated in character his great words, "Conduct is three-fourths of life"; the man who amidst the blinding storm and stress of life would nevertheless ever determine to "see life steadily" and "to see life whole"; the man who saw not the way but believed in the good, as he put it, "The Eternal not ourselves which makes for righteousness";—that man surely exerted an influence which "on the whole was good."

And yet the words used by the critic "skeptical and critical, discontented and unsettled" are true to the case. They are negative terms. He helped to clear the way for better things, though he could not point men definitely to it. But he believed there was a way. He tried one and failed. Nevertheless *there is a way* to the goal.

"On, to the bound of the waste,  
On, to the City of God."

In the meanwhile "having done all, stand."

"Children of men! not that your age excel  
 In pride of life the ages of your sires,  
 But that ye think clear, feel deep, bear fruit well,  
 The Friend of man desires."

Robert Browning was born at Camberwell, a suburb of London, May 7, 1812. His father was a clerk of the Bank of England, a scholar of the "old-fashioned classical type." The son was educated in private schools and at home, and aside of one or two terms spent in London University, he never studied extensively at any of the great seats of learning of his day. He traveled in Russia during the winter of 1833-34. His romantic marriage to Elizabeth Barrett, the poetess, was one of the most important events of his life, having a great influence on his interpretation of human destiny. He spent most of his life after 1846 in Italy, the "land of lands." He was always a student of great intensity and power. For him the preparation he had was the best for his life-work and purpose. After a long life of uninterrupted health and remarkable productivity he died in 1889.

He lived through the greater part of the nineteenth century. If Matthew Arnold was as one

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead,  
 The other powerless to be born,  
 And having nowhere yet to lay his head."

Robert Browning was one who marched in the world that despite its trials, upheavals and failures was marked by general soundness and wholesomeness of progress. He himself in one of the very last of his poems (*Epilogue of Asolando*) claims to have been as

"One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,  
 Never doubted clouds would break,  
 Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,  
 Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,  
 Sleep to wake."

He was a true child of his age. He was born in the very travail of its new birth. He grew up in it, of it, and beyond

it. He not only as a poet felt the direction of its undercurrents but as a prophet heralded its real-idealistic culmination. He with Arnold "felt the spell and passed through the shadows" of the dark and reactionary period that followed the French Revolution. The new science, the industrialism, the materialism of the age presented to him all the problems of Arnold's melancholia but he fought his way through them to a positive constructive theory and practice of life.

It is remarkable that at twenty years of age, in his first published work, *Pauline*, he found his view-point and maintained it to the end of his life. It is in this that we are interested. It enabled him to assimilate the true inwardness of the rising scientific, social, political and religious tendencies of the age. It gave him scope for an imagination as vivid as that of Shelley or Keats, for a moral tone and seriousness as deep as that of Clough or Arnold, for an insight, sympathy and courage as heroic as that of Carlyle, but it gave him more than this, something truly Browningsque. These others saw but glimpses; he saw a vision of the whole. From his center the upheavals on the circumference need not disturb him. It was this point of view wrought out in early youth that made it possible for him to maintain himself consistently to the end of his life and yet always have scope for the growth and development of his genius.

The *crux* of philosophy is the theory of knowledge; of science, experiment; of practical living and religion, faith. In each case the individual is recognized as in relation to the whole, as in touch with ultimate reality. With Browning, truth does not exist for us until it is part of our life. This is the opposite of medieval conception of knowledge. It is, in fact, a simple statement of the theory of knowledge of Rudolf Hermann Lotze (1817-1881), a German contemporary of Browning. "We know things in their phenomena, so far as these phenomena can express them," that is, we do not know things *apart from* their manifestations, but we do know them *in their manifestation*. A little meditation on this at once throws



out in relief central points in Lotze's philosophy which the reader of Robert Browning will at once recognize as kindred thoughts. Note the following: the emphasis of experiment, experience and the historical; value-judgments; the insistence on personality, and the idea of truth through personality; the vital *present* consciousness of the individual and race; living love, the essential of life; growth through struggle; and eternal progress. On the German side Lotze, Fechner, Paulsen and Wundt are a line of philosophers who in their point of view or theory of knowledge make room for science but never close the door to the Infinite, *i. e.*, to religion. This tendency is what they call *die psychophysische-voluntaristische Richtung*, or in general, *das Realidealismus*. To trace this same point of view in theology through Albrecht Ritschl to the present day would, indeed, be interesting, especially since the real constructive effects are beginning to be so manifest. As to Browning, suffice it to say that after waiting fifty years for recognition, he has in the last twenty-five years come to his own, simply because this constructive side of the modern tendency has come and thousands, especially among Christian thinkers, find him voicing their larger hopes and ideals. Of him, Hamilton Mabie says, "Since Shakespeare no maker of English verse has seen life on so many sides, entered into it with such intensity of sympathy and imagination, and pierced it to so many centers of its energy and motivity. No other has so completely mastered the larger movement of modern thought on the constructive side, or so deeply felt and so adequately interpreted the modern spirit."

In this suggestion of a parallel between Browning's viewpoint and the theory of knowledge within the modern tendency of thought and life, we do not presume to say that he was dependent on the German or even the contemporary English philosophers of his day. Indeed, he bears the ear-marks of no university nor any scientific or theological "ism" of his day as the fountal source of his view. Augustine Birrell declares, "You cannot say confidently of Wordsworth, Tennyson, or of

Browning how they came to possess their ideas." We would rather say that he at first-hand touched the great simple elements of life—the world, the soul, and God—and found a track which proved to be the path that led his age to light.

"I go to prove my soul!

I see my way as birds their trackless way.  
I shall arrive! what time, what circuit first,  
I ask not; but unless God send his hail,  
Or blinding fire balls, sleet or stifling snow,  
In some time, his good time, I shall arrive:  
He guides me and the bird."

(Paracelsus, one of his earliest poems.)

He never lost his vision. Like the Apostle Paul, he might have said, "Wherefore, O King, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." Others might go their way and claim a better path.

"What matter to me if their star is a world?

Mine has opened its soul to me; therefore I love it."

(My Star.)

He was a seer, a prophet, who "brings fresh stuff from God for us to shape and use." His secret was buried in the bosom of God and defies ultimate analysis.

"I have always had one lode-star; now,

As I look back, I see that I have halted  
Or hastened as I looked toward that star—  
A need, a trust, a yearning after God." (Pauline.)

In the view-point that reality is known in its manifestations, we have a center that radiates from the individual in every direction—self-consciousness, world-consciousness, God-consciousness. However various are the phenomena of existence, God, the ultimate, floods them all. The pivotal point is the human soul. "Little else is worth study" says Browning himself.

"Truth is within ourselves; it takes no rise  
From outward things, whate'er you may believe.  
There is an inmost center in us all,  
Where truth abides in fullness; and around,

Wall upon wall, the gross flesh hems it in,  
 This perfect, clear perception—which is truth,  
 A baffling and perverting carnal mesh,  
 Binds it, and makes all error: and, to know,  
 Rather consists in opening out a way,  
 Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,  
 Than in effecting entry for a light  
 Supposed to be without. (Paracelsus.)

This "push of reality from within" in nature and in man is the basis of revelation which makes all life full of meaning.

"... This world's no blot for us,  
 Nor blank; it means intensely, and means good:  
 To find its meaning is my meat and drink."

(Fra Lippo Lippi.)

It is natural that such a point of view would make Browning the poet of human life pre-eminently "Into the world," the whole world of human interests, would be his motto. In his unity of conception "Law, love, joy, impulse" are one thing." But nature, however, its phenomena are manifestations of reality, is subordinate to the human soul as the true vehicle of expression of the ethical and spiritual values. "Into life," life as a whole, involving the world, man, and God would he go and lose and find himself.

"I am made up of an *intensest life*,  
 Of a *most clear idea of consciousness*  
 Of *self*, distinct from all its qualities,  
 From all affections, passions, feelings, powers;  
 And thus far it exists, if tracked, in all:  
 But linked, in me, to self-supremacy,  
 Existing as a centre to all things,  
 Most potent to create and rule and call  
 Upon all things to minister to it;  
 And to a *principle of restlessness*  
 Which would be all, have, see, know, taste, feel, all—  
 This is myself; and I should thus have been  
 Though gifted lower than the meanest soul."

"... I dreamed not of restraint, but gazed  
 On all things."

"'Twas in my plan to look on real life,  
The Life all new to me; my theories  
Were firm, so them I left, to look and learn  
Mankind, its cares, hopes, fears, its woes and joys.  
And, as I pondered on their ways, I sought  
How best life's end might be attained—an end  
Comprising every joy." (Pauline.)

This life-plan received impulse through Shelley, the poet,  
"The Sun Treader," as he called him. He saw what seemed  
to be his decreed fate, and says,—

"I threw myself  
To meet it, I was vowed to liberty,  
Men were to be as gods and earth as heaven,  
And I—ah, what a life was mine to prove!  
My whole soul rose to meet it."

The above given quotations are all from his first work, Pauline, published when he was but twenty years of age. The instinct "to be, have, see, know, taste, feel all," always characterized the man that in a late poem (*Prospice*) said, "I was ever a fighter," but it was destined to meet two great experiences: the one negative, the other positive. The one made the flesh around the inner center of truth as "wall upon wall" which as

"A baffling and perverting carnal mesh,  
Binds it, and makes all error: and, to know,  
Rather consists in opening out a way,  
Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,  
Than in effecting entry for a light  
Supposed to be without." (Paracelsus.)

The other for a Rabbi Ben Ezra, made the flesh a "pleasant rose-mesh," that would make him say,

"Let us not always say,  
'Spite of this flesh to-day  
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole!'  
As the bird wings and sings,  
Let us cry, 'All good things  
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul!'"

The one would make us rest in peace in this common daily finite life,

"The common problem, yours, mine, every one's,  
Is—not to fancy what were fair in life  
Provided it could be,—but finding first  
What may be, then find how to make it fair  
Up to our means: a very different thing."

The other, that "principle of restlessness," would in the same poem say,

"No, when the fight begins within himself,  
A man's worth something. God stoops o'er his head,  
Satan looks up between his feet—both tug—  
He's left, *himself*, i' the middle: the soul wakes—  
And grows. Prolong that battle through his life,  
Never cease growing till the life to come."

(Bishop Bloughram's Apology.)

This double experience runs through all his poetry. The soul's quest for realization finds in its environment that which says at once, yea and nay. The realization of the finite and the infinite is man's greatest problem. The significant word in the quotation from Rabbi Ben Ezra in the line, "nor soul helps flesh more, *now*, than flesh helps soul," is the little word *now*. There is a solution and just this solution is the great contribution of Robert Browning to the faith of the age. "To see clearly and love intensely whatever was just and noble and ideal in the past; to understand the inevitable changes that have come over the thoughts and lives of men; to discern a unity of movement through them all; to find a deepening of soul in art and life; to bear knowledge and know that it is subordinate to character; to look the darkest facts in the face, and discern purpose and love in them; to hold the note of triumph and hope amid the discordant cries of terror and perplexity and despair—this is what Browning has done; and for this service, no matter what we think of his art, those who are wise enough to know what such a service involves will not withhold the sincerest recognition." Pardon this long sentence from Hamilton Mabie's Essay on Browning. It shows in beautiful

balanced from exactly what we have in mind—the finite and the infinite, vitalized in the soul of man and brought to a harmonious unity and consciousness.

Consequently our poet is never an ascetic.

"Oh, our manhood's prime vigor! No spirit feels waste,  
Not a muscle is stopped in its playing nor sinew unbraced.  
Oh, the wild joys of living! the leaping from rock up to rock,  
The strong rending of boughs from the fir-tree, the cool silver shock  
Of the plunge in a pool's living water, the hunt of the bear,  
And the sultriness showing the lion is couched in his lair.  
And the meal, the rich dates yellowed over with gold dust divine,  
And the locust-flesh steeped in the pitcher, the full draught of wine,  
And the sleep in the dried river-channel where bulrushes tell  
That the water was wont to go warbling so softly and well.  
How good is man's life, the mere living! how fit to employ  
All the heart and the soul and the senses forever in joy! (Saul.)

Rabbi Ben Ezra sees life as a whole. Flesh and soul are part of the great Potter's plan. It is to spirit that all things tend but whilst in the process a true view of life will find in the flesh a help, and that despite its apparent hindrances. The fullest spiritual development means a wise use and appreciation of the methods and instrumentalities of growth and action.

On the other hand he is never a sensualist. The great sin of life is to stop in any of its stages. The flesh is not an end in itself.

"A brute I might have been but would not sink i' the scale."

"What is he but a brute  
Whose flesh hath soul to suit?"

The gifts of physical strength, health, intellectual knowledge and emotional power, and possessions of wealth, are gifts that must prove their use. They are not ends in themselves, however fascinating and inspiring.

"Yet gifts should prove their use:  
I own the Past profuse  
Of power each side, perfection every turn:  
Eyes, ears took in their dole,  
Brain treasured up the whole;  
Should not the heart beat once "How good to live and learn!"

Pauline, as we said, was his first long poem, published as early as 1833. His plan as to follow it with other personal studies, which he only in point carried out at the time, aiming to show the problem of human life as a failure when restricted alone to the finite in any of its earthly ambitions. From time to time, however, he did carry out the plan. The various phases of life are brought in most fascinating personal studies; *e. g.*, *Pauline*, *Parcelsus*, *Sordello*, *Cleon*, *Bishop Bloughman*, *Andrea Del Sarto*, *Fra Lippo Lippi*, *Luria*, *Saul*, (John) *A Death in the Desert*, and *Rabbi Ben Ezra*. In the *Ring and the Book*, his masterpiece, the same is exhaustively brought out in personal form as the titles of the chapters indicate. Throughout all these studies, and in them no phase of life escapes him, the central problem is illustrated—how to work and live to best advantage for the soul within the limitations of the finite, responding to and growing ever into the infinite, *i. e.*, how to use this world-flesh tabernacle for the time and having done with it how to grandly leave it, moving into the larger coming sphere in triumph. To have all that nature science, and art could give within the earthly, finite limitations would after all be hell at the last great Easter-day.

"Thou are shut  
Out of the heaven of spirit; glut  
Thy sense upon the world: 'tis thine  
Forever—take it!"

Such was the sentence on Judgment-Day. The soul answers,

"How? Is mine,  
The world?" (I cried, while my soul broke  
Out in a transport). "Hast thou spoke  
Plainly in that? Earth's exquisite  
Treasures of wonder and delight  
For me?"

Then he pictures the soul revelling in nature, art, mind, love, even, to the full but at last it comes, sated with the finite; hungering for the infinite.



"And I cowered deprecatingly—  
'Thou Love of God! Or let me die,  
Or grant what shall seem heaven almost!  
Let me not know that all is lost,  
Though lost it be—leave me not tied  
To this despair, this corpse-like bride!  
Let that old life seem mine—no more—  
With limitation as before,  
With darkness, hunger, toil, distress:  
Be all the earth a wilderness!  
Only let me go on, go on,  
Still hoping ever and anon  
To reach one eve the Better Land!'"

The soul then understood the Christ.

"Then did the form expand, expand—  
I knew him through the dread disguise  
As the whole God within His eyes  
Embraced me."

It was after all only a dream of Judgment-Day,

"When I lived again,  
The day was breaking."

The soul was born anew in Christ. The Easter hope dawns in the breast.

"How dreadful to be grudged  
No ease henceforth, as one that's judged,  
Condemned to earth forever, shut  
From heaven!"

"But Easter-Day breaks! But  
Christ rises! Mercy every way  
Is infinite,—and who can say?"

But let us not be misunderstood—Browning's teaching is not an other-worldliness thrown to us here on the earth as a sort of sop to make us, "Children crying in the night," cease our wailing and get to work. It is just the opposite of that. He is not an abstract idealist but a concrete idealist. His great lesson is to teach us how to live and work without anxiety in the finite, rejoicing ever that the infinite is our goal.

The meaning of this tabernacle-stage of life is most real and profound. First of all it is much to realize that

"This life is training and a passage."

If Matthew Arnold had grasped this simple thought he might have found a place to rest his head and heart as well. It is a phase of evolutionary thought that grows out definitely from Browning's view-point. "Reality is manifest in its phenomena." Life in its sorrows and failures as well as in its joy and victories must mean something and mean it deeply or surely Matthew Arnold is right that man must be either "madman or slave." Life here on earth is a passage, indeed, and more.

"For I intend to get to God,  
For 'tis to God I speed so fast,  
For in God's breast, my own abode,  
Those shoals of dazzling glory passed,  
I lay my spirit down at last,  
I lie where I have always lain,  
God smiles as he has always smiled."

(Johannes Agricola: in Meditation.)

The present process is in his plan as well as its culmination.

The very process itself has its grand moral purpose.

"I can believe this dread machinery  
Of sin and sorrow, would confound me else,  
Devised—all pain, at most expenditure  
Of pain by Who devised pain—to evolve,  
By new machinery in counterpart,  
The moral qualities of man—how else?—  
To make him love in turn and be beloved,  
Creative and self-sacrificing too,  
And thus eventually God-like.

The moral sense grows but by exercise.  
'Tis even as man grew probatively  
Initiated in Godship, set to make  
A fairer moral world than this he finds,  
Guess now what shall be known hereafter."

Danger, trial, suffering, temptation—all have their value. He

makes the Pope, in "the Ring and the Book," from which the two quotations just given are taken, say

"Shall I too lack courage?

Refuse, with kindred inconsistency,  
To grapple danger whereby souls grow strong?  
I am near the end; but still not at the end;  
All to the very end is trial in life:  
At this stage is the trial of my soul  
Danger to face, or danger to refuse?  
Shall I dare try the doubt now, or not dare?"

Rabbi Ben Ezra would likewise embrace the whole of life and profit by it all.

"Rejoice we are allied  
To That which doth provide  
And not partake, effect and not receive!  
A spark disturbs our clod;  
Nearer we hold of God  
Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe.

"Then, welcome each rebuff  
That turns earth's smoothness rough,  
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!  
Be our joys three-parts pain!  
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;  
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!"

And farther,

"He fixed thee 'mid this dance  
Of plastic circumstance,  
This Present, thou, forsooth, wouldst fain arrest:  
Machinery just meant  
To give thy soul its bent,  
Try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed."

Surely this is comfort to believe that our very struggles, sufferings and temptations are part of the process of the evolution of God-like character. It does more than comfort, it puts hope and strength into us.

"I count life just a stuff  
To try the soul's strength on, educe the man.  
Who keeps one end in view makes all things serve."

This sort of optimism is not the emotional sentimentalism of which we hear so much. It is the kind that "stirs the gift in us."

"Let us do so—aspire to live as these  
In harmony with truth, ourselves being true!  
How soon a smile of God can change the world!  
How we are made for happiness—how work  
Grows play, adversity a winning fight!" (In a Balcony.)

In this finite stage the infinite must of necessity often seem a failure but such failures, our worst moments, are assurances of the eternal completeness. And the high moments of inspiration, our best moments, are all "a flash of the will that can," showing our kinship to His creative power. Both are prophecies.

"Therefore to whom turn I but to Thee, the ineffable Name?  
Builder and maker, Thou, of houses not made with hands!  
What, have fear of change from Thee who art ever the same?  
Doubt that Thy power can fill the heart that Thy power expands?  
There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall live as before;  
The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound;  
What was good, shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more;  
On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven, a perfect round.

"All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good, shall exist;  
Not its semblance, but itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power  
Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist  
What eternity affirms the conception of an hour.  
The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,  
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,  
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;  
Enough that he heard it once: we shall hear it by-and-by."

(Abt Fogler.)

In blind sorrow and trouble he is likewise undismayed. His view-point never forsakes him.

"If I stoop  
Into a dark tremendous sea of cloud,  
It is but for a time; I press God's lamp  
Close to my breast; its splendor, soon or late,  
Will pierce the gloom: I shall emerge some day."

(Paracelsus.)

How grandly he conceives life as a growth and development! Many are the rich passages illustrating man's grand march to God-likeness. In *Luria* he makes *Domizia* say,

"How inexhaustibly the spirit grows!  
One object, she seemed erewhile born to reach  
With her whole energies and die content—  
So like a wall at the world's edge it stood,  
With nought beyond to live for,—is that reached?—  
Already are new undreamed energies  
Outgrowing under, and extending farther  
To a new object; there's another world."

Another fine passage is taken from "*A Death in the Desert.*" The dying John speaks,

"I say that man was made to grow, not stop;  
That help, he needed once, and needs no more,  
Having grown but an inch by, is withdrawn:  
For he hath new needs, and new helps to these.  
This imports solely, man should mount on each  
New height in view; the help whereby he mounts,  
The ladder-rung his foot has left, may fall,  
Since all things suffer change save God the Truth.  
Man apprehends Him newly at each stage  
Whereat earth's ladder drops, its service done;  
And nothing shall prove twice what once was proved."

And again,

"While man knows partly but conceives beside,  
Creeps ever on from fancies to the fact,  
And in this striving, this converting air  
Into a solid he may grasp and use,  
Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone,  
Not God's, and not the beasts': God is, they are,  
Man partly is and wholly hopes to be."

His goal is not reached until he finds the place

"Where law, life, joy, impulse are one thing."

This development of the soul and progress of life in general is not always regular and steady. Browning delights particularly to describe the personal soul in some special crisis, tremendous temptation, or supreme experience, which shows the

deep undercurrents of life, and reveals the soul in its real conditions. The study of special instances of this type alone would make material sufficient for an article. Such situations are portrayed in a most masterly way in *Cristina*, *Paracelus*, *Saul*, *Pippa Passes*, *Luria*, *In a Balcony*, *Ring and the Book*, *Bishop Bloughman*, etc. Indeed, they abound, one might almost say everywhere in his writings. He knows the strategic point, the psychological moment. To such situations the monologue, his characteristic literary mode of expression, lends itself most admirably. Perhaps the psychological principle involved is best stated in the short poem *Cristina*.

"Oh, we're sunk enough here, God knows!  
But not quite so sunk that moments,  
Sure though seldom, are denied us,  
When the spirit's true endowments  
Stand out plainly from its false ones,  
And apprise it if pursuing  
Or the right way or the wrong way,  
To its triumph or undoing.

"There are flashes struck from midnights,  
There are fire-flames noondays kindle,  
Whereby piled-up honors perish,  
Whereby swollen ambitions dwindle,  
While just this or that poor impulse,  
Which for once had play unstified,  
Seems the sole work of a lifetime,  
That away the rest have trifled."

Another most effective illustration is found in "*Pippa Passes*," when Sebald, an illicit lover of *Ottima*, comes to himself after murdering the husband who was the barrier in the way of their passion. She was just about to use the full power of her fascinations in eliciting from a him a final vow of fealty when he arouses himself to the real facts of the situation.

"To think  
She would succeed in her absurd attempt,  
And fascinate by sinning, show herself  
Superior—guilt from its excess superior  
To innocence! That little peasant's voice  
Has righted all again. Though I be lost,

I know which is the better, never fear,  
Of vice or virtue, purity or lust,  
Nature or trick! I see what I have done,  
Entirely now! Oh I am proud to feel  
Such torments—let the world take credit thence—  
I, having done my deed, pay too its price!  
I hate, hate—curse you! ‘God’s in his heaven!’”

Such is the battle of life. Browning’s conception of it is decidedly occidental. His emphasis of experience and personality are typical of the Anglo-Saxon. Though he does not fail to recognize the Oriental elements of human character yet on the whole he is western in spirit, despite the fact that the idea of the immanence of God is such a large part of his conception.

“My own East!  
How nearer God we were! He glows above  
With scarce an intervention, presses close  
All palpitatingly, his soul o’er ours;  
We feel him, nor by painful reason know!” (Luria.)

But he cannot conceive of mystic absorption in the Absolute as effective, this world as an illusion, nor the suppression of personality as wise, nor an ascetic withdrawal from life as true character-building. Consequently there is little about meditation or reverie or peace in all his poetry.

Are you tired and weary of this struggle, the ebb and flow of these great human tides? The incessant change and constant uprising of new duties?

“Why this is the old woe of the world:  
Tune, to whose rise and fall we live and die,  
Rise with it then! Rejoice that man is hurled  
From change to change unceasingly,  
His soul’s wings never furred!” (James Lee’s Wife.)

And likewise read the suggestive words in the introduction of Easter-Day, in answer to the exclamation

“How very hard it is to be  
A Christian!  
Then what if it be God’s intent  
That labor to this one result

Should seem unduly difficult?'  
 Ah, that's a question in the dark—  
 And the sole thing that I remark  
 Upon the difficulty, this:  
 We do not see it where it is,  
 At the beginning of the race:  
 As we proceed, it shifts its place,  
 And where we looked for crowns to fall,  
 We find the tug's to come,—that's all."

It is evident that Browning's view of life leaves no empty gaps. Even the gaps there seem to be are part of the higher process. His spirit of hope and courage and strength is born out of the very struggle. And yet he is not without a sense of rest and peace. It is, however, never the peace and quiet of the hermit or recluse or ascetic or even the mystic. It is the peace that is born out of a sense of God, and the assurance of His triumph in the human soul and race. He came from God.

"Take all in a word the truth in God's breast  
 Lies trace for trace upon ours impressed.  
 Though he is so bright and we are so dim,  
 We are made in his image to witness him."

And to God he goes,

"For I intend to get to God,  
 For 'tis to God I speed so fast."

His view of death and the life after death fully reveals the force of the momentum of his present consciousness of life as from God, for God and to God. Real life is eternal. Time is but a phase of it, however important. The selfishness of the saying of Ecclesiastes he would at once repudiate: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work nor device nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest."

"Others mistrust and say, 'But time escapes:  
 Live now or never!'

He said, 'What's time? Leave *Now* for dogs and apes!  
 Man has Forever.'" (A Grammarian's Funeral.)

There can be no cessation of life. The soul goes on and on



in self-realization. Death is the last great enemy, the Arch Fear, so the battle is the battle royal, "the best and the last." What a contrast is Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar" with "Prospice" here quoted in full.

"Fear death?—to feel the fog in my throat,  
     The mist in my face,  
 When the snows begin, and the blasts denote  
     I am nearing the place,  
 The power of the night, the press of the storm,  
     The post of the foe;  
 Where he stands, the Arch Fear in a visible form,  
     Yet the strong man must go:  
 For the journey is done and the summit attained,  
     And the barriers fall,  
 Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,  
     The reward of it all.  
 I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,  
     The best and the last!  
 I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,  
     And bade me creep past.  
 No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers  
     The heroes of old,  
 Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears  
     Of pain, darkness and cold.  
 For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,  
     The black minute's at end,  
 And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,  
     Shall dwindle, shall blend,  
 Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,  
     Then a light, then thy breast,  
 O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,  
     And with God be the rest!"

After the battle the grand triumphal march truly begins. In writing to the Epilogue of *Asolando*, Browning remarked to a friend on reading it to him that it seemed presumptuous but he continued, that during his life he *so felt* and with reference to the future he *so hoped*.

"No, at noonday in the bustle of man's work-time  
 Greet the unseen with a cheer!  
 Bid him forward, breast and back as either should be,  
 'Strive and thrive!' cry 'Speed, fight on, fare ever there as here!'"

This study of Browning does not pretend to be exhaustive in any sense of the term. We have constantly kept his viewpoint as a poet before us. We noted how he sets the human soul in the very center of life, a *microcosm*, indeed. It was for this reason that we did not take up a detailed review of his idea of nature. As he regards the human soul as suffused and inspired of God, so for him nature too is filled with a power beyond itself. The point of view that "Reality is known in its phenomena," does not reduce reality to a mystic subjectivity but asserts the objectivity of the power that creates the phenomena. Consequently when it comes to ethical and spiritual values the human soul becomes the great center of revelation. We are at once reminded of Lotze's noble words: "True reality is not matter, still less idea, but the living personal spirit of God and the world of personal spirits which He has created." Apart from God and the souls He has made there is not spirit, goodness, light or love. "God is spirit." "God is light." "God is Love." Man is made in His "image."

"Though He is so bright and we are so dim,  
We are made in his image to witness Him."

The greatness and value of the human soul is, therefore, one of the essentials of his Gospel. God expresses his power in the universe; in man He comes to consciousness; in Jesus shines forth "the express image of his person," "the effulgence of his glory." He has the "pre-eminence" and we are "complete in Him."

Browning makes the soul and the fellowship of souls with one another and with God supreme interests. Consequently the cardinal truths of his poetry are the infinite value of the soul, the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

Personality is the central medium of understanding of that which is highest and eternal. It is the mystery of mysteries in source and power but the most prominent and evident experience of experiences known to the human soul. Its roots are

embedded in the lower strata of being. In an age which has "thrown itself wholly on its intellect and its genius in physics, and has done marvels in material science and invention but at the expense of the interior divinity," Browning's conception of personality is a most wholesome antidote. Faith is the central problem of life. It is not primarily rooted in intellect nor the will but in the whole soul in its direct unconscious oneness with the essential being of God. How much he had studied the modern scientific psychologies we do not know, but he antedated the experiments of Wundt and his followers in England and America in the study of the "sub-conscious soul" or the "sub-liminal self." His view-point of the sense or knowledge of reality is in fact, none other than that of Paul, Luther, Kant (on the ethical and spiritual side), Lotze, Ritschl, Sabatier, etc. It is the direct conscious touch of the soul with God in simple, child-like faith, through Jesus Christ. It is a sort of passivity which means the flooding of the soul in highest self-revelation.

"Thought is the soul of act, and, stage by stage,  
Soul is from body still to disengage  
As tending to a freedom which rejects  
Such help and incorporeally affects  
The world, producing deeds but not by deeds,  
Swaying, in others, frames itself exceeds,  
Assigning them the simpler tasks it used  
To patiently perform till Song produced  
Acts, by thoughts only, for the mind: divest  
Mind of e'en Thought, and, lo, God's unexpressed  
Will draws above us!" (Sordello.)

Just before this passage he was speaking about "My deep of life," "deeper than did plummet ever sound." Ah, how deep in the eternal is the soul! In the Ring and the Book, Caponsacchi in describing his conversion finds its secret source in something deeper than his conscious knowledge.

"'Thought?' nay, Sirs, what shall follow was not thought:  
I have thought sometimes, and thought long and hard.  
I have stood before, gone round a serious thing,  
Tasked my whole mind to touch and clasp it close,

As I stretch forth my arm to touch this bar.  
 God and man, and what duty I owe both—  
 I dare to say I have confronted these  
 In thought: but no such faculty helped here.  
 I put forth no thought, powerless, all that night  
 I paced the city: it was the first Spring.  
 By the invasion I lay passive to,  
 In rushed new things, the old were rapt away;  
 Alike abolished—the imprisonment  
 Of the outside air, the inside weight o' the world  
 That pulled me down. Death meant, to spurn the ground  
 Soar to the sky,—die well and you do that.  
 The very immolation made the bliss;  
 Death was the heart of life, and all the harm  
 My folly had crouched to avoid, now proved a veil  
 Hiding all gain my wisdom strove to grasp: "

His path of duty at once became clear and he "was not disobedient to the heavenly vision."

"Sirs, I obeyed. Obedience was too strange,—  
 This new thing that had been struck into me  
 By the look o' the lady,—to dare disobey  
 The first authoritative word. 'Twas God's."

It was thus that soul-kindling, soul-quickening, conversion, regeneration are real elemental life-processes rooted in the whole being of a man. Personality is the great vehicle of truth and life. The very nature of man necessitates just such experiences. "You must be born again (*ἀνωθεν*), i. e., from above. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; that which is born of the spirit is spirit."

"Mind is not matter nor from matter, but  
 Above,—leave matter than, proceed with mind!

In and through Browning's poetry runs this idea of personality and regeneration through personality. It is alike for the individual and society. "The fresh stuff," the "new feelings fresh from God," are the burden of the prophet, the teacher, the artist. How well it is stated in Luria! Domizia speaks to Luria as the great leader

"Who here the greater task achieve,  
More needful even: who have brought fresh stuff  
For us to mould, interpret and prove right,—  
New feeling fresh from God, which, could we know  
O' the instant, where had been our need of it?—  
Whose life re-teaches us what life should be,  
What faith is, loyalty and simpleness,  
All once revealed but taught us so long since  
That, having mere tradition of the fact,—  
Truth copied falteringly from copies faint,  
The early traits all dropped away,—we said  
On sight of faith like yours, 'So looks not faith  
We understand, described and praised before.'  
But still, the feat was dared; and though at first  
It suffered from our haste, yet trace by trace  
Old memories reappear, old truth returns,  
Our slow thought does its work, and all's re-known.  
Oh noble Luria!"

In uplifting and regenerating society the problem is essentially the same as for the individual. It is fundamentally a matter of spirit, through personality. Without souls that seek the kingdom of God, how can there be a kingdom? The regenerated society is but the fellowship of regenerated individuals. The heaven which is the hope of social life is the heaven of individual souls made new in God.

"A people is but the attempt of many  
To rise to the completer life of one;  
And those who live as models for the mass  
Are singly of more value than they all."

"... man's mass remains,—  
Keep but God's model safe, new men will rise  
To take its mould, and other days to prove  
How great a good was Luria's glory."

In Balustion's Adventure the poet's function is essentially described.

"I think I see how,—  
You, I, or any one might mould a new  
Admetos, new Alketis. Ah, that brave  
Bounty of poets, the one royal race  
That ever was, or will be, in this world!

*They give no gift that bounds itself and ends  
 I' the giving and the taking: Theirs so breeds  
 I' the heart and soul o' the taker, so transmutes  
 The man who only was a man before,  
 That he grows godlike in his turn, can give—  
 He also: share the poets' privilege,  
 Bring forth new good, new beauty, from the old."*

Perhaps one of the most significant illustrations is in Sor-dello,—

*"Let essence, whatsoe'er it be, extend—  
 Never contract. Already you include  
 The multitude; then let the multitude  
 Include yourself; and the result were new:  
 Themselves before, the multitude turn you.  
 This were to live and move and have, in them,  
 Your being, and secure a diadem  
 You should transmit (because no cycle years  
 Beyond itself, but on itself returns)  
 When, the full sphere in wane, the world o'erlaid,  
 Long since with you, shall have in turn obeyed  
 Some orb still prouder, some displayer, still  
 More potent than the last, of human will,  
 And some new king depose the old."*

Surely the divine essence is to expand and not contract. The leaven is to leaven the whole lump. "Already you include the multitude," *i. e.*, that the highest and noblest individual ideals, the very best, are for mankind. "Then let the multitude include yourself," *i. e.*, give yourself in your best to them and truly "the result were new." They who were merely "*themselves before*" now "*turn (become) you*" in all your noblest self-realization.

In Browning the soul in its phenomena is, above all things, a thing suffused and filled with something beyond itself. His "leap of faith" makes it the personal God who is our Father. The personality that most brings "the new stuff and new feelings from God" is the one most needful to man. Of all the doorways to the heart of the universe, to Him who is the Father-God, there is none like Christ. He is the "door" because He is "the way, the truth, the life." He is it in His

person and not otherwise. In *Aurora Leigh*, Mrs. Browning fully states the case.

"Subsists no life outside of life."

The Christ himself had been no Lawgiver,  
Unless he had given the *life*, too, with the law."

And here is where Browning is proved truly Christian. His poetry might be called the poetry of redemption; for, the regeneration of man and mankind is his great theme. Saul, one of the very best of his poems, is a study of soul-regeneration through personality. He takes the incident of I Samuel XVI. 14-23,—David with harp and song restoring Saul from his madness. Would that we could follow the course of the poem as David plays and sings the music of nature and human nature through Messianic prophecy up to Christ! David reaches the limit of his own personality and in prophecy points Saul to Christ. How marvellously it is told in the 18th canto!

"I believe it! 'Tis thou, God, that givest, 'tis I who receive:  
In the first is the last, in thy will is my power to believe.  
All's one gift: thou canst grant it moreover, as prompt to my prayer  
As I breathe out this breath, as I open these arms to the air.  
From thy will, stream the worlds, life and nature, thy dread Sabaoth:  
I will?—the mere atoms despise me! Why am I not loth  
To look that, even that in the face too? Why is it I dare  
Think but lightly of such impuissance? What stops my despair?  
This;—'tis not what man Does which exalts him, but what man  
Would do!

See the King—I would help him but cannot, the wishes fall through.  
Could I wrestle to raise him from sorrow, grow poor to enrich,  
To fill up his life, starve my own out, I would—knowing which,  
I know that my service is perfect. Oh, speak through me now!  
Would I suffer for him that I love? So wouldst thou—so wilt thou!  
So shall crown thee the topmost, ineffablest, uttermost crown—  
And thy love fill infinitude wholly, nor leave up nor down  
One spot for the creature to stand in! It is by no breath,  
Turn of eye, wave of hand, that salvation joins issue with death!  
As thy Love is discovered almighty, almighty be proved  
Thy power, that exists with and for it, of being Beloved!  
He who did most, shall bear most; the strongest shall stand the most  
weak.

'Tis the weakness in strength, that I cry for! my flesh, that I seek  
 In the Godhead! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be  
 A face like my face that receives thee; a Man like to me,  
 Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever: a Hand like this hand  
 Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand! "

This cry of David, "See the Christ stand!" finds high expression of Christian content in Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day. The first deals with the Christ incarnate and living and working among men; the second with the risen and glorified Christ, the ideal and inspiration of men. In both, the real inwardness of the modern problems of theology, as circling around the person of Christ, is treated in a most remarkable way. The personality of Christ is Christianity's "all in all" the message and the person are one,—even inseparable. This is the central teaching of Christmas-Eve.

"Morality to the uttermost,  
 Supreme in Christ as we all confess,  
 Why need we prove would avail no jot  
 To make him God, if God he were not?  
 What is the point where himself lays stress?  
 Does the precept run 'Believe in good,  
 In justice, truth, now understood  
 For the first time'?—or, 'Believe in me,  
 Who lived and died, yet essentially  
 Am Lord of Life'? Whoever can take  
 The same to his heart and for mere love's sake  
 Conceive of the love,—that man obtains  
 A new truth; no conviction gains  
 Of an old one only, made intense  
 By a fresh appeal to his faded sense."

A new truth, indeed, as verified by Paul. "Every man in Christ is a new creature."

The problem of Easter-Day is whether the full and free enjoyment of the finite would or not really satisfy the human soul. It is the problem of immortality. The judgment-day is realized in a dream by a soul that has chosen the earth and all the fulness of the present life. Nature's joys and powers, art's beauties and treasures, the mind's rich stores of knowledge, and love's sweet lore and passions—all were enjoyed but



none could satisfy in themselves and all found their real end in the infinite and more than that, in Christ as the expression of the Divine Mind. At last the soul in repentance and longing cries out,—

“Be all the earth a wilderness!  
Only let me go on, go on,  
Still hoping ever and anon  
To reach one eve the Better Land!

“Then did the form expand, expand—  
I knew Him through the dread disguise  
As the whole God within His eyes  
Embraced me.”

What a sense of Christ! Who could fail to love Him? In the light of man's hunger for the infinite, who but He can be sufficient? Under the pressure of the thirst for immortality who beside Him could satisfy? Amidst the changes of human life and progress

“That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,  
Or decomposes but to recompose,  
Becomes my universe that feels and knows.”

(Epilogue of Dramatic Personal.)

There is one more point of emphasis to be made. In a world of persons there must be one supreme law—the law of Love. The law of gravitation may be for the individual atoms of the universe, an ever-present power. For individual personal souls the law of love is supreme. Their highest being and development is only found within its scope and operation.

“So, the All-Great, were the All-Loving too—”

Our minds return again to Lotze, the philosopher, and we recall another of his noble sayings. “Good and good things do not exist as such independent of the feeling, willing and knowing mind: *they have reality only as the living movements of such a mind* . . . The only thing that is really good is that Living Love which wills the blessedness of others. And it is just this that is the good-in-itself for which we are seek-

ing." If this eternal sacredness and supreme worth of love were not at the foundation of the world, and if in such a case there *could be* a world of which we could think and speak, this world, it seems to me, would, whatever were left of it, be without truth or "order." These words might well be quoted as Browning's. God as *Living Love* is all in all. It is love that sanctifies all the relations of life in time and eternity.

No poet has surpassed him in the treatment of romantic love. His own well-nigh perfect realization of it with Mrs. Browning permeates all his writings. In closing this study we cannot enter into an illustration of it. Its many phases are set set forth in some sixty short poems and in every one of the long ones.

So, too, is friendship glorified by it, and social life, the nations, yea, even all mankind. These mightier forms of love are without beginning and without end; they heed not time nor space; they fill the very universe; they rise to God complete from whence they came. They are but the returning tide of life from man to God, even as they first were the incoming flood from God; for it is not that "we first loved Him, but that He first loved us." From the human side, this spirit of eternal living love fills all his poetry even as the heat of the sun pervade the whole earth. "To him Love is Conqueror, and Love is God."

We have had "Poetic Points of View" in mind: Keats, Clough, Arnold and Browning. The others saw in glimpses; Browning saw a vision of the whole. He moved in the full cycle of life: from God, to God, with the earth-life between. He represents in poetry that which is the modern quest: in philosophy, "a real idealism or an ideal-realism;" in psychology, the living *nexus* between thought and brain; in religion, the vital touch of the individual soul with the universal God. It is Paul's, Luther's, Calvin's, Copernicus', Kant's, Lotze's, Ritschl's, Wundt's problem in scientific and religious theory: it is every man's problem in living experience. It is faith, the universal problem. "The just shall live by faith."

Browning has the heroism of such a faith, "the will to live." He touches the spiritual rock; the waters flow. Their source is hidden in the rock. They water the present life and make it rich and verdant. They flow onward, the river of life, making glad the eternal City of God. That rock, for Browning, is Jesus Christ.

"Then did the form expand, expand—  
I knew Him through the dread disguise  
As the whole God within His eyes  
Embraced me."

GREENSBURG, PA.

#### IV.

### "THE FAITH OF A LAYMAN."

BY THE REV. W. D. HAPPEL, PH.D.

This is the title of a volume by Frederic Harrison, a retired London barrister. It is an apology for his faith. In reading this book one is continually impressed with the fact that Mr. Harrison is a man of great learning, acquired by a life of study and travel. He had the advantage of being brought up in a good family, wealthy, intelligent and decidedly Christian, his father conducting daily worship with much feeling and unction. Much attention was given to his religious training. During his childhood at Middlesex he received his first impressions of the Christian religion, the members of his family being communicants and faithful attendants of the Anglican Church at that place. After the family's removal to London, he attended King's College in Somerset House where the course embraced the "whole of the Bible, the Church catechism and Articles, Paley's Evidences, Pearson on the Creed, Ecclesiastical History of the first three centuries, the Testament in Greek and even the Hebrew grammar and passages from the Psalms in the original." After special catechization by his pastor he was received into the full membership of the Anglican Church. At eighteen he went to Oxford. Here he was regarded a pronounced Puseyite, this movement being then at its height. Here he found himself in a decidedly theological atmosphere and gave much time to theological inquiry. He himself declares that his religious training was of unusual fullness. Indeed one might say, judging from this book, that here is a man who has given his life to the subject of religion. After reading the account of Mr. Harrison's relation and de-

votion to Christianity one is not a little shocked to find that for years he has entirely abandoned it and even theism itself. He has divested himself entirely of the religion of the Bible. It is interesting to notice the causes as given by him which led to such a great change. The change was not sudden but gradual. He claims that it was a growth, that he outgrew Christianity.

In speaking about the causes which brought about such a radical change it would perhaps not be unfair to say that he is among those who have a skeptical bent in their nature. As a boy we find him reading books of devotion with a guarded assent. He does not, however, seem to be conscious of this as one of the forces which led him to abandon Christianity.

The first thing as given by him which shook his faith was the intellectual difficulty which a person meets with in trying to solve and rationalize the verities of Christianity. It was the rule while at Oxford to listen to sermons Sunday after Sunday in the official pulpit which contradicted each other. The creed necessary if we are to be saved of one Sunday became the heresy of the next. Theological questions were all in an unsettled condition, and seemed incapable of being settled satisfactorily. There was in Mr. Harrison a disposition to disbelieve what could not be satisfactorily demonstrated to the intellect. But if we cannot believe what cannot be proved by logical processes then must all follow in his footsteps. Christianity is not irrational—"Unsinn"—as one of the writer's acquaintances was in the habit of calling it, but the old teaching that Christianity is above reason is still true. When John the Baptist was in doubt concerning the Christ and sent a delegation to Jesus on an errand of inquiry, the reply given did not consist of proofs for the intellect. Jesus referred John the Baptist to the fruits of Christianity as that which commends it to one's faith and acceptance. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Another cause that was operative in destroying his

faith in Christianity was a preconceived notion concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures. He came to the study of the Scriptures with the idea that the authors of the several books were simply penmen in the hands of God. He held to the old mechanical notion of inspiration, ignoring the large human element in the Scriptures. When his findings in the study of the Bible will not permit him to hold such a theory, when they will not fit into it, he ceases to regard it as inspired and recognizes the Bible thereafter as in no way different from other great literary works. He reminds the writer of a minister whom he met several years ago who argued that there dare be no discrepancies between the Gospels. If such cannot be reconciled he declared the Bible must go down. It is a great mistake to come to the Bible with a fixed notion concerning inspiration. We must first study the Scriptures and then draw our conclusions and work out our theory of inspiration. Had Mr. Harrison applied the scientific method of study to the Scriptures with the same enthusiasm with which he applied it to every other department of learning, the outcome might have been different. Our theory of inspiration must not be a priori, but a posteriori.

Another thing that tended to unsettle him in his faith was a too great freedom of thought within the Anglican Church. He is disposed to hold thinkers within the Church strictly to the standards, the Creeds and the Articles as they were understood at the time of their making. A restating in the light of modern thought of the doctrines of Christianity annoys him, so much so, that he charges the ministry with double dealing, dishonesty and hypocrisy. He claims that the leaders of thought have abandoned the essential teachings of Christianity and yet hold beneficed positions, and are continually promoted. No doubt freedom within the Anglican Church has been carried to dangerous extremes, for it is said that there is room for priests whose opinions range from Unitarianism to Roman Catholicism. But Protestantism cannot be Protestantism without a certain amount of latitude in thinking. Besides, the

great changes brought about by scientific study to which Mr. Harrison is committed must necessarily have its effect on religious thought, requiring in many cases a restatement of old truths.

Finally the acceptance of that form of positive science which deals only with phenomena and rejects all causality back of or within phenomena was a most potent cause in his casting aside Christianity. This form of scientific study accumulates facts and detects their order, applies to them the gauge of quantity, observes the relations of their laws and follows the traces of expanding generalization. Philosophy is simply to survey and methodize this process and exhibit it as the logical organon of the human intellect. Here it rests. This form of positivism goes only as far as the senses will carry one. Of anything beyond that it is silent. It does not say that nothing exists or that something exists which we do not know. It is altogether silent on this point. It claims to be strictly positive. This would lead a person to abandon theism, including, of course, the whole of Christianity.

Thus step by step Mr. Harrison was led to give up Christianity until finally he abandoned it in its entirety, including theism. He is not, however, without a religion. It has been said that man is incurably religious. One will perhaps be as much surprised at the religion which he accepts and champions as at his abandoning Christianity.

His religion is the "Religion of Humanity." The opening words in the volume under review are as follows: "I never parted with any belief until I had found its complement; nor did I ever look back with antipathy or contempt on the beliefs which I had long outgrown. I have at no time of my life lost faith in a supreme Providence, in an immortal soul, and in spiritual life; but I came to find these much nearer to me on earth than I had imagined, much more real, more vivid, and more practical. Superhuman hopes and ecstasies have slowly taken form in my mind as practical duties and indom-

itable convictions of a good that is to be." This, we might say is the text of the book under review. The volume is largely an exposition of these words.

The object of worship is humanity, past, present and future. Humanity he believes is the only basis of a workable religion. The study of humanity engages the intellect, for this study involves not only the obtaining of knowledge of body and mind, but includes all other departments of learning, for all of them are directly or indirectly related to man. Humanity as an object of devotion engages man's emotional nature. It kindles our affections.

He claims, furthermore, that it engages the will, the practical side of our nature. Man's activities have been largely occupied in supplying man's needs, in improving his condition and environment and in developing his possibilities.

Providence is not "the Almighty and everywhere present power of God," but the provision which man makes for man. He says: "In the twentieth century the business of real life turns round Industry, Inventions, Art, Vital Appliances in all forms. We battle with malaria, plagues, famines, all noxious conditions, by scientific research, infinite patience and continuous observation of facts. We add a tenth to the average of life; we spare intolerable agonies to untold millions. We have halved the cruel holocaust of infants. For nearly two thousand years millions of prayers have ascended day by day to Christ, Virgin, Saints and even to Devils. All was in vain. The prayerful attitude of mind much added to the horror and the slaughter as mothers flung themselves on their dying and infected infants, and fanatical devotion thrust aside all sanitary provisions. Humanity only recovers its health and peace as theology slowly dies away. Which providence protects the children of men most lovingly the Divine Providence or the Human?"

Worship consists in memorials for the departed, mutual affection between man and man, and all forms of social intercourse and respect.



Future life does not consist in a personal existence beyond this life. It consists in the influence which a man leaves behind him. During a lifetime a man sets into motion many forces. These continue to operate after he is dead. Indeed they never cease in their activity. The sum of civilization is the influence of past generations. Each generation adds to the sum and each individual whose life stands for the good. Though dead, these people live in their influence. This is the only future life there is. These four points, humanity, as the object of devotion, Providence, worship and future life constitute an outline of the religion which Mr. Harrison accepts and advocates.

The religion of humanity sprang up on French soil. Its founder was Auguste Comte (1789-1857). According to Comte the human mind successively passes through three stages of thinking or philosophizing: the theological stage which is elementary and represents the period of childhood, the metaphysical stage, and the positive stage. From the theological or anthropomorphic point of view, cosmical phenomena are governed, not by immutable laws but by wills or a will like ours. Metaphysical thought explains phenomena by abstractions considered as real beings. Nature is no longer governed by God, but by a principle. Ever since the inauguration of the positive epoch by Descartes, Bacon, Hobbes, Galileo, Gasendi and Newton the positive explanation of facts is gradually superseding the theological and metaphysical explanations in proportion as the advance of scientific research brings to light an increasing number of invariable laws. Like philosophy in general each science in particular passes through these three consecutive stages.

In classifying the sciences he advanced the principle that each one depends on the truths of all the sciences which precede it plus such truths as properly belong to it. The particular sciences are mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, and finally sociology. Political and social ideas succeed each other according to a fixed law.

Positive philosophy is no longer a separate science, it is the synthesis, the systematic coordination of human knowledge. Emanating from the sciences, it does not differ from them in method: it employs the method of experience, supplemented by induction and deduction.

In this scheme of thought there is no place for religion. And when Comte became the founder of a new religion it was a surprise to all who had in any way become interested in him and his writings. The religion originated by Comte is not an integral part of his system of thought. It came into his life in a strange way. It is impossible to go into the details of his life, but it is necessary to say that in 1825 he married Caroline Massin. "His domestic life soon became a burden to him through discordances which grew harsher with time, and after seventeen years the marriage was dissolved in 1842." In the course of several years he met a person who brought a "moral resurrection." This person was "Madame Clotilda de Vaux, a lady who was suffering through an equivalent to his own loneliness, being separated from a husband sentenced to the galleys." They married in 1845. She wakened in him and concentrated upon herself the affections due to every relation of life; she was to him at once his betrothed, his daughter, his disciple, his redeemer, his divinity; the incomparable angel, as he himself says, whom the ensemble of human destinies had commissioned, to make him their worthy organ for finally achieving the gradual perfection of our moral nature. The moral resurrection which she brought into his life at the age of forty-seven consisted in showing him that the heart is to have primacy over the head. She enabled him to become a two-fold organ of human progress, following up the career of an Aristotle by that of a St. Paul. In a year Clotilda died. He erected an altar to her in his room at which three times a day he realizes her image and breathes forth her prayers. He makes a pilgrimage to her tomb each week, he dedicates to her a commemorative anniversary. She became to him the prototype of perfect society. Out of this experi-

ence sprang the whole of the religion of humanity. While engaged in his intellectual work he had abolished all theological ideas, cultus, priesthood, temples, Grand-etre as the object of devotion. These all now suddenly spring up and the Religion of Humanity is launched upon the world. It soon finds its way into London.

Mr. Harrison is attracted by it and gradually becomes an adherent of and apologist for the new faith.

Space will not permit a detailed criticism of this religion, but the following thoughts suggest themselves in thinking on it:

One is reminded of the Kantian distinction between the theoretical and practical reason. After showing that the intellect cannot know the great realities of religion Kant finds a refuge in the practical reason. Comte finds the intellect capable of dealing only with phenomena. The practical reason is the religious sphere in our nature.

Another thought is that what is good in this religion is included in Christianity. It is an appropriation of the earthly half of Christianity. The Christian religion demands the utmost practical devotion to humanity. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is one of the two great commandments given by Jesus. One needs only to call to mind the parable of the Good Samaritan in which the gift of eternal life is conditioned on devotion to mankind. The account of the judgment as given by Jesus conditions eternal blessedness on having discharged the practical obligations to the needy of our kind.

Furthermore, the worship of humanity contradicts the principles laid down by Comte in the scientific and philosophical part of his writings. He there repudiates Christianity as an *thropomorphism*. Man has created a God after man's own image. But if we worship individuals of the race, especially the great, that surely is *anthropomorphism* in its worst form, not to call it idolatry. If on the other hand we worship humanity as a race then we are worshipping a metaphysical abstraction,

which Comte also repudiates, for there is no place for metaphysics or theology in this thinking.

Then, too, this religion of humanity lacks one of the necessary features of a religion. It is exclusive. It is only for the initiated, the elect. A certain amount of intellectual preparation is necessary before one can intelligently become an adherent of it. One must be familiar with science and history and kindred studies. Indeed the religious gatherings of the adherents of this religion are largely of the nature of schools for the improvement of the intellect and of course indirectly of the heart.

Finally it has been said that there is no moulding power in such an object of worship. "It is precisely as reality immediate though infinite, present though eternal, as the certain ground of all being, instead of perhaps coming to be, as the Living and Loving original of all higher vision of life and love, that such an object draws forth our trust and veneration, and moulds us by personal affection to the likeness of the All-Good."

WILKES BARRE, PA.

## V.

### CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

BY THE REV. A. S. WEBER, D.D.

#### ARE ROMANISM AND PROTESTANTISM TO BE SUPERSEDED?

Amazing changes in the thought and life of men are being wrought by the intellectual and spiritual forces at work in our age. Not only in the Protestant branch of the Christian Church are these changes to be observed; in the Roman branch the evidence of their unwelcome intrusion is equally manifest. The ultimate outcome of these changes for either or both of these communions, it is as yet too early for any one, in a definite way, to forecast. Sufficient progress has been made, however, and a sufficient momentum acquired, by what is called the "Modernist" movement, to assure not a few conservative thinkers even, of the probability that what is impending must effect a radical transformation of ecclesiastical order as it now exists. Some go so far as to say that in their present forms of doctrinal statement and institutionalized arrangements, both the Roman and the Protestant churches have had their day, and ere long must cease to be. By such, the desire for Christian union, characteristic of the times and everywhere receiving expression, is interpreted as indicating the coming of a new and widely inclusive Catholicism in which all that is fundamentally essential to Christianity shall be conserved, and all in creed and ritual, in worship and government, that is incidental shall be eliminated and superseded.

In the growing body of literature dealing with these topics in their various phases, the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth has made

the most thoughtful and distinctly able contribution<sup>1</sup> that has appeared in our country. The book has attracted a much wider immediate circle of readers than any of his previous volumes, and will doubtless live when most of the others are forgotten. Its suggestions and contentions will also arouse controversy and criticism to an extent that none of his earlier writings have produced, but this may be due to the real value of its contents, rather than to any particular views that are presented by it.

Dr. Smyth has a lofty conception of the purposes and achievements of Protestantism. During the earlier periods of its history, the protest it uttered was necessary, and the reconstruction it accomplished, highly important. Its contributions, negatively and positively, in these regards, cannot be too highly appraised. The establishing of the "historic security of democracy"; the admission "of the sciences into our modern civilization"; the winning for mankind of "freedom of thought and spiritual liberty"—these constitute an abundant justification of the sixteenth-century revolution. But one's appreciation of the greatness and value of the world-wide service of Protestantism need not render one blind to the fact that its achievements belong to an age that is distinctly past, that the present is an age of failure, and that the latter is without any hopeful and reassuring prophecy for a brighter or better future.

Among the things charged by Dr. Smyth against Protestantism these may be noted: "It wields no effective authority; it does not control the family in regard to its higher interests; it has no competent and efficient scheme of religious education; it has lost contact with the living thought of the day; it stands severed not only from the church of Rome, but is disrupted in itself into numberless sects which weaken it as by a paralysis falling upon its working unity." This is not all that might be

<sup>1</sup> *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism*, by Rev. Newman Smyth, D.D. Cloth, 209 pages. Price \$1.00 net. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

said in arraignment of contemporary Protestantism; but it is enough, to his mind, to establish the claim that it has accomplished its mission, and is now in the process of passing, as is also the more ancient communion against whose errors it has been contending,—both thus making for something ecclesiastically higher and religiously truer.

The new order resulting from this evolutionary process he designates "a grander Catholicism," which he thinks is "already at our doors." Unless one is entirely mistaken in apprehending his meaning this does not imply, as some of his critics have charged, that Protestants are about returning to the Roman fold and bowing their necks to the Papal yoke, but rather that both the Roman Church and the Protestant will consent to enter into the new Catholicism which is coming, the foretokenings of whose approach are to be seen in the Modernist movement. True, Pius X and the Roman hierarchy are at present striving against its encroachments, just as the Protestant reactionaries are in a similar way antagonizing its progress, but our author cannot bring himself to believe that either set of opponents will doom themselves to a permanent resistance of Modernism which alone points to a Christian future that has the promise of continued life and usefulness. The forces, vital with the spirit of truth and supported by enlightened reason, are active in universal Christendom as never before, and one can confidently look for them to combine for the overthrow of error on every side and for the enthronement of truth in something like the new Catholicism of which the penetrating eye of Dr. Smyth has caught a vision.

If one can without much difficulty accompany him thus far in his contentions, and hope with him for the realization of his prophecy, one feels constrained to withhold assent from his suggestion that to bring about the greater Catholicism the Protestant churches should turn to the Anglican communion. To follow his argument into its details would take us farther afield than there is room for in these notes. The present purpose will be accomplished by saying in a general way, that



while from an academical point of view his suggestions are interesting, they are entirely impracticable, or if they were practicable, the result following would be at once undesirable and unsatisfactory. The Christian Union resulting from the proposed scheme would be outward and formal, rather than vital and real. It would leave the way open for a repetition sooner or later of the very disorganized conditions of separatism which are now robbing the church of its efficiency and power. This last state would probably be worse than that now prevailing. If the proposed new and larger Catholicism is to be realized, it must represent a unity of spirit and purpose, rather than a unity of creed and polity; it must recognize the principle of the intellectual and spiritual freedom, rather than insist upon outward conformity of any sort; and one can't help believing that the way leading to this form of unity must be found along avenues other than those offered by the Anglican Church and the questionable validity of its claim to tactual Apostolic succession.

#### THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.

In recent discussions of the question concerning the historicity of the Gospel according to St. John, the account of the raising of Lazarus from the dead has received an unusual amount of critical attention. The Rev. Dr. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Westminster, in his volume on "The Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel,"<sup>2</sup> selects this miracle as one of the central significance in deciding the question he is discussing. In an article in the *Contemporary Review* which has attracted much attention, Professor Burkitt<sup>3</sup> argues against the historical character of St. John's Gospel because the Synoptists do not mention the raising of Jesus' friend at Bethany. And Professor Gwatkin, after having read Burkitt's brilliant paper and been deeply impressed by it, hastens to point out what he regards the unsoundness of its *argumentum e silentio*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Published by Longmans, London. Price 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Gospel History and Its Transmission, *Contemporary Review*, April, 1908.

<sup>4</sup> See, *The Expository Times*, May, 1908.



All of these contributions are worthy of fuller and more careful consideration than can be here accorded them, but a brief notice of their general character, though it fail to do them full justice, may prove of some service to those interested in critical examination of gospel problems.

The Dean of Westminster's lectures, as now published, were originally spoken to an assembled congregation of Christian believers, before whom he felt warranted to "disregard those who are unable to admit that any of the narratives of the raising of the dead can possibly be historically true." If the raising of Jarius' daughter and that of the son of the widow of Nain, as reported by the Synoptists, be regarded as facts of history, why should there be a greater difficulty in believing in the raising of Lazarus? The only difference, according to Dr. Robinson, is that Lazarus was longer dead. In anticipation of the question some would probably ask, whether in a country like Palestine the fact of Lazarus being longer dead did not make *great* difference, he declares it to be his belief that the "ordinary processes of decay were suspended by the divine providence which intended the return to life." Positive ground for the support of this belief the author confesses he has none, and the indirect support he gathers for it from the fact that Jesus spoke of Lazarus as asleep will hardly carry much weight for those in distress of faith.

The principal difficulty about the Bethany miracle does not lie, however, in the number of days he is reported to have been dead before Jesus arrived on the scene, but grows out of the critical examination and comparison of the several gospel narratives. A threefold difficulty springs out of such a comparison:—First in the framework of St. Mark there is seemingly no place for the raising of Lazarus. Second, St. Mark's account of the events which led to the crucifixion apparently contradict the account of events which according to St. John issued in the Cross. Third, if Lazarus was raised from the dead, Mark must have known it, and could not have failed mentioning it. These several aspects of the problem are taken

up in succession by these lectures, and answered with a skillful array of learning and cogency of argument that command admiration and respect, even though they do not always convince one of being conclusive. The real force of some of the difficulties suggested by critical inquiry and comparison, is frankly acknowledged. At the same time, however, stress is laid upon other considerations, which in the author's judgment, not only fully counteract that force, but show that the foundations of the historical character of the Gospel according to St. John are sound and trustworthy. All this is done in an admirable spirit and lucid style, thus making available the best that can be said on one side of the question at issue, to those unacquainted with the technicalities often employed by the critical scholars.

As already stated the writer of the article in the *Contemporary Review*, belongs to that large class of biblical students, who on the ground of what is omitted by St. John, and of what is peculiar to him, as compared with the Synoptist records, feel themselves compelled to decline accepting the views which Dr. Robinson supports. Professor Burkitt, we are told by Gwatkin, "is far above the reckless criticism which summarily sets down every omission to ignorance," and then proceeds to draw hasty and destructive conclusions suited to its own prejudices. With reference to the omission of ordinary incidents from the gospel narratives, he allows that too often precarious arguments have been built on their "silence." But, he rightly insists that the raising of Lazarus, to which Matthew, Mark and Luke make not even the remotest allusion, cannot be regarded as an ordinary incident. "It not only made a great stir at the time, but is actually according to St. John's account, the turning point of our Lord's life, for it directly caused the decision to put him to death. Now, if the story were historical, the Synoptists must have known it; and if they knew it they must have recorded it—which they have not done."

In reaching the conclusion from this that the raising of Lazarus is not historical, it need hardly be said that Professor

Robinson is a fair representative of many other careful students of the Gospels. The Rev. Dr. Warschauer, of London, whose keen discrimination and fair-mindedness as a New Testament scholar will be readily conceded by all that are acquainted with his writings, in discussing the "Peculiarities of the Fourth Gospel,"<sup>5</sup> touches among other things this incident at Bethany. "I am willing," he says "to take my stand without going into details, on one point alone, and to express my belief that the story of the raising of Lazarus—a miracle said to have been performed with the greatest publicity, and supposed to have led directly to the successful plot against Jesus—this story, I say, could not have been absent from all the other Gospels had it had any foundation in history." Even so learned and painstaking a scholar, and one so conservative in his instincts as the late Professor Salmon found himself compelled, with painful reluctance, to come to the conclusion that the alleged event never occurred. Notwithstanding this conclusion, his confidence in Jesus Christ as the incarnate Son of God and the Saviour of the world, remained unshaken, and his monumental contribution to one of the profoundest problems of theological thought will not only forever save his memory from being sneered at as having been a "destructive critic," but justify men to revere him as a devout and saintly believer in the Gospel as the power of God unto salvation.

In his observation on Burkitt's essay, Professor Gwatkin challenges the soundness of reasoning on the supposition that an author *must* record facts known to him,—the supposition involves in his judgment a serious fallacy. Before one has the right to make it, one must be sure of knowing what sort of a book the author meant to write. Had the Evangelists written as do modern historians, it is likely they would not have omitted an important fact like that of the raising of Lazarus. But their interest in facts was not historical, it was religious. They wrote, not for the purpose of satisfying historians' curiosity, but to impress men with a knowledge of what manner of

<sup>5</sup> *The Christian Commonwealth*, February 26, 1908, page 384.

man the Lord Jesus was. And so we find that whilst the Synoptists do not mention the raising of Lazarus, St. John is likewise silent concerning the raising of Jairus' daughter and of the widow's son at Nain. Two additional reasons are specified to show why one may hesitate on Dr. Robinson's grounds to accept his conclusion: "If the Evangelists had their motives for recording certain facts, they may have had their motives for omitting other facts. Let us take a hint from the marked reticence of St. Luke about the family at Bethany. Is it not possible that the Synoptists deliberately left out the story of Lazarus, whom the Jews sought to kill, just as they have omitted the name of the disciple who struck off the servant's ear? There are many stories, and even some of passing notoriety, which no right-minded man will care to publish till certain persons have been placed by death beyond the reach of danger." In affirming that the raising of Lazarus actually caused the decision to put Jesus to death, the writer in the *Contemporary* goes too far. Had not the Pharisees long before taken counsel with the Herodians to put him to death? "These Herodians were roughly the Sadducees. But the dominant Sadducees, the priests, who had the power to carry the counsel into action, seem to have been unwilling to help them. When they gave their help it was effective. But why should they help? The Prophet of Nazareth was a pestilent fellow, but he had not attacked *them* very much; and if he was a thorn in the side of the Pharisees, that was a reason for letting him alone. The stir made by the raising of Lazarus, however, thoroughly alarmed them. Caiaphas went over to the Pharisees. The way was clear for a decision. It is partly as a preface to this decision that St. John tells the story, just as he relates the feeding of the five thousand with a view to the discourse at Capernaum. And as he tells it he enables us to see that if Christ died for that nation, and not for that nation only, he gave his life a ransom in a special sense for Lazarus."

## THEOLOGY AND THE MISSIONARY PROBLEM.

The remoteness of theology from the practical affairs of life is often set forth with a view of disparaging its importance and discrediting its value. That the direct opposite is the truth in the matter has recently been shown in a notable address on the problem of foreign missions by Dr. Wardlow Thompson, the secretary and ruling spirit of the London Missionary Society. His method of dealing with a subject, that in the hands of most speakers is well worn and thread-bare, proved not only his pre-eminent knowledge of the missionary situation abroad, but of the influence wielded upon it by theological thought at home. So many of the striking facts he adduced are applicable to the missionary enterprises of all the churches, that what was said in regard to the work of the Society he represents is well worthy of general attention and consideration.

Dr. Thompson's long experience in directing and inspiring the cause in the home churches, and his almost unique acquaintance with the missions and missionaries in foreign fields, gives vivid interest to his description of the growth of the work and its present condition. Many millions of pounds now represent the annual contributions given by the churches for its maintenance; but on all sides there are signs that a period of reaction is setting in. The limit of giving has practically been reached, men feeling that they are doing as much as they ought to do for this particular claim. Besides, there is in as various quarters, a latent skepticism as to the value of missions, often vague and unintelligent, but sufficient to destroy enthusiasm in their support.

The causes lying back of this reaction and skepticism are to be found in the fact that the religious outlook in which missions originated and hitherto have been maintained no longer exists, and the pleas made by ministers, secretaries, and missionaries have not been sufficiently adjusted to meet the requirements of the altered situation. If missions are to be re-

garded an integral and commanding feature of the Church's work, the appeal for their support must recognize the people's changed theological basis. They no longer believe, as their fathers did, that the heathen world is under the curse of God, that its innumerable millions who have lived and died without Christ are irretrievably lost. "The influence of foreign travel," Dr. Thompson continues, "upon an ever increasing number, the fuller and more accurate knowledge we now possess of the sacred writings and religious systems of the non-Christian world, the remarkable growth of enlightenment of man's physical nature and his relation to the rest of animate life, especially as unfolded in the theories of Evolution, and the application of the critical method to the structure of the Bible and the doctrines of our faith, have produced results far more wide-spread than are yet fully recognized, and have imperceptibly shifted the stand-point of very many to a great distance from that they occupied in the beginning of life."

The truth of this statement, one feels sure, can not be successfully challenged. The old missionary appeal is gone, and gone forever. The old declaration that such and such numbers of heathen souls are every hour passing into eternal misery is no longer allowed. Men resent it as a blasphemy against a good and faithful Father. "We have, I imagine," the speaker said frankly, "abandoned altogether that narrow Calvinism, which would sweep to a hopeless doom all the countless hosts of men and women who generation after generation have peopled this earth, and have passed without a chance of hearing of the Saviour of sinners; nor can we think of the vast multitude who are now sharing the world with us in the land of heathenism, or nearer at home, as involved in that terrible condition. To believe this is to admit the final triumph of evil over good. There will surely come a time when the Redeemer shall see the travail of his soul and be satisfied. The hope that

'Good shall fall  
At last, far off—at last to all,'

becomes more confident, when we look more closely into the condition of the world and study more carefully the revelation of the nature of the divine purpose as it comes to us in Scripture." In thus repudiating the old notion that "the creation of man was a failure, and the expectations and intentions of the Creature disappointed and frustrated by Satanic agencies," Dr. Thompson classes himself with progressive theologians, and, in one's humble judgment is helping to open a new future for Christian missions by enlisting on higher grounds, the sympathies and offerings of reasonable people.

Of similar service are his observations on a number of additional theological and doctrinal conceptions. (1) Secretary Thompson entertains the hope, to him exceedingly precious, that in the world to come there may be new opportunity of service under conditions different from the present, and that there men may still be instrumental in seeking and saving those who from various causes fail to hear or fail to respond to the pleadings of grace before they pass beyond this present stage. (2) There is a Godward direction in the historic process of evolution. The course of human development is guided by God to unrealized ends. The manifestation of Christ is the revelation of God's ideal life, and the introduction into the world of a new force destined to fulfil that ideal, and to complete the process involved in man's creation will require ages. It is slow but sure to be accomplished. Naturally the doctrine of the Atonement, with its correlated doctrines of the sinlessness of Jesus and His resurrection from the dead, have occupied the first place in men's thoughts, and been regarded as the very center of the Christian faith. But it is not essential that they should all be at one in their interpretation and meaning of Christ's atoning work. We are surely coming to see more and more clearly that the Atonement was only the first wonderful act in a still more wonderful drama, the first indispensable and impressive stage in a more glorious and comprehensive scheme of human recovery. (3) Too often the very inspiration of the missionary enterprise lay in the assurance that



the non-Christian world was utterly and entirely and hopelessly wrong, and worthy only of contempt. It does one good to hear from the leader of a great Missionary Society, without bating one jot or tittle of his claim to the superiority, and indeed the supremacy of the religion of Jesus, that nowadays a different estimate of these ethnic religions must be made, as the happy result of closer study. They enshrine great spiritual truths, and express great spiritual aspirations; and as the recognition of these becomes more widely prevalent will the appeal of Christian missions gain infinitely in persuasiveness, especially in dealing with the higher Oriental civilizations. Where Christ is known there appears to be a living vigorous spirit at work vitalizing conscience, causing the innate sense of right and wrong which appears to be in every man, to become quick in judgment and strong in purpose, revealing the unnaturalness and hurtfulness of transgression against the right, and thus strengthening the power of resistance of evil and making response to the better nature easier. Where the spirit of Christ is not known there seems to be no actual spiritual force in religious or ethical systems to assist the conscience and inspire the soul in opposing and overcoming evil. Man has to carry on his conflict unaided, and to struggle as he may against the power of temptation and the cumulative force of evil. The realization of this difference furnishes men and churches with the higher missionary motive of to-day.

In reply to the question what power Christians possess to enable them to face the gigantic task of evangelizing the heathen world, Dr. Thompson said in concluding his address, that in men's changed conception of the gospel message and of the end aimed at they had a much freer hand than their fathers, a better method of working, and a much broader and truer view of what was to be expected as the result of their work. Not only had they to preach the great Evangel in order that men might begin to know the power of the true life, but they had also to do a more indirect work of purifying and changing the whole fabric of the community in which mis-



sionaries labor. Increased knowledge, improved social conditions, healing the sick, and teaching men to labor, might be God's ways of ultimately helping on the Kingdom. They were confined to no straight rule, but were sent to win the world and to use their Christian ingenuity and energy in carrying out this task to the best of their ability. He urged that a spirit-filled Church would be a truly successful church in its ministrations for Christ. They could not expect their missionaries to be living on a higher level than themselves, to be endowed with the power which they had not, or to be inspired with a zeal which was flagging in their own life. The whole matter seemed to him to resolve itself into a very serious question:—Are we conscious of possessing the spiritual power in our lives which alone can make the work truly successful? If not, why not?

BALTIMORE, MD.

## VI.

### CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY.

BY PROF. A. V. HIESTER.

B. COMMUNISM.—Of the various schemes which have been proposed for the regeneration of human society communism is the most radical. For it not only recognizes the inherent injustice of the present system of distribution, as other schemes of social reconstruction do, but it also admits, as these do not, the impossibility of securing an equitable distribution of wealth under any system or principle. It does not, therefore, seek to divide wealth at all. Since every kind of division would only give rise to new inequalities, it would extend the principle of common ownership to all forms of wealth, excepting only the merest personal belongings, to be enjoyed equally by all. But the word equality when applied to the consumption, as also to the production, of wealth, has a peculiar and somewhat technical meaning. "Equality," says the French communist, Buonarroti, "must be measured by the capacity of the worker and the need of the consumer, not by the intensity of the labor and the quantity of things consumed. A man endowed with a certain degree of strength, when he lifts a weight of ten pounds, labors as much as another with five times the strength, when he lifts fifty pounds. He, who, to satisfy a burning thirst, swallows a pitcher of water, enjoys no more than his comrade, who, but slightly thirsty, sips a cupful. The aim of communism is equality of pains and pleasures, not of consumable things and workers' tasks."

This conception of communism regards society precisely

like a family. "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs" is its working principle. But this modified equality was not originally the criterion of communistic faith and practice; nor is it now accepted by all communists. There are those who frankly acknowledge the impracticability of apportioning wealth according to need and advocate in its place the earlier and simpler principle of absolute equality. Absolute equality was the ruling principle of all the older communisms. The ancient lawgivers appear to have known no other. When they divided the land, practically the only kind of wealth then, they apportioned an equal share to each person or family. Of course this equality invariably proved of short duration and had to be re-established from time to time by new divisions. But what was quite possible and even desirable under primitive conditions, when social groups were small and land the only form of wealth, would be vastly more difficult in practice, as well as less just in principle, under the infinitely more complex conditions of modern society; and the number of those who now favor the principle of absolute equality is comparatively small.

There is yet a third school of communists which holds that whatever principle of consumption is adopted, whether absolute or modified equality, must not be enforced by any form of external coercion; for there must be neither government nor any sort of authority other than which is purely moral. This is anarchism, the essential principle of which is the complete and unrestrained development of human individuality. Not all anarchists are communists. There are individualist or philosophical anarchists as well as communist anarchists. The latter start with the assumption that private property, no matter how narrow, involves some limitation of personal rights, certain obstacles in the way of those who have no property. Hence the only scheme of consumption which they can logically advocate is that each one should take just what he wants from the common store. But this involves one of two impossible implications. Either wealth would have to exist

in superabundant quantities, which is inconceivable; or the distribution of the social income would have to be adjusted, in the absence of some constituted authority, through the agency of "mutual concessions, the exercise of good will and the feelings of fellowship," which is scarcely more reasonable. Communist anarchism, then, even more than philosophical anarchism, is illogical and impossible. It is, however, the younger and more numerous, if less able, school of anarchism, and to its championship of communistic principles must be credited the recent revival of interest in communism, after it had long ceased to engage the attention of social thinkers and practical reformers.

Communism is as old as human society. That it existed in the earliest times may be seen from the Russian *mir*, the Javan *dessa* and similar survivals of primitive social forms. It is not confined to any particular period in the history of the race or to any particular nation or type of social organization. And yet there have been times when the conjunction of certain social conditions gave a new impulse to communistic ideas. The most important of these favoring conditions have been the following:—1. A well-defined confrontation of rich and poor and the absence of a strong middle class to graduate political and economic distinctions.

2. A high degree of division of labor, which not only fosters the mutual dependence of man on man, but also obscures for the untrained masses the real connection between function and remuneration.

3. A violent shaking of public opinion with respect to what is right and just caused by successive revolutions, particularly when they take opposite directions, for then they confuse and blind the indiscriminating mind most.

4. A rapid growth of political democracy which accentuates the social and economic inferiority of the masses by contrast with their political condition.

While communism has existed under a great variety of forms and motives it may be broadly divided into two classes,

sectarian and secular, according as its ruling principle is concerned with religious or economic ends. Down to the nineteenth century it has been almost invariably of the religious sort. Recent communism, on the other hand, has taken both forms, although sectarian communism has been the more successful and is still the dominant form.

1. In communism of the religious type the cohesive principle is a particular religious belief or practice which is felt to be of supreme importance. In most cases it is the mystical side of religion that is emphasized, and with mysticism are frequently combined asceticism and celibacy. Every important religion has had its communistic tendencies, but new religious movements are especially liable to develop them. For the weak beginnings of such movements are apt to discourage their adherents from all hope of conquering the world, and to cause them to seek security for their beliefs in isolation. Early Buddhism had its monastic orders, the members of which renounced marriage and property. Among the Jews both the Essenes and Therapeutae taught and practiced communism. The first Christians observed for a time a species of communism. The Medieval Church had its various monastic and mendicant orders, its Humiliates, Beghards, Beguines, and Adamites, its Brethren of the Free Spirit, and its Brethren and Sisters of the Law of Christ. While some of these orders were guilty of excesses, immoralities and even crimes, they represented as a general thing the purest and most vital Christianity of their times.

The Brethren and Sisters of the Law of Christ are of particular interest for the reason that they were the spiritual descendants of John Huss and the progenitors, on one side, of the modern Moravian Church. Without formally separating themselves at first from the national church of Bohemia, they constituted a society within it to foster Apostolic teaching and fellowship. They acknowledged the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice, rejected titles, oaths and the bearing of arms, lived in separate communities, and held the quasi-

communistic doctrine that the rich should share their wealth with the poor and all live after the manner of the Apostolic community at Jerusalem.

But the Reformation more than any other period in the history of Christianity developed powerful impulses to communism. Besides the Peasants War, which was very largely the outcome of communistic ideas imbibed by the German peasantry, it witnessed the rise of the Heavenly Prophets at Zwickau, the Anabaptists at Münster, the Libertines at Geneva, the Familists in Holland and England, and the Buchanites in Scotland. Again in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the pietist revolt against the formalism and corruption of the established churches swept over Germany, a fresh impetus was imparted to communistic ideas. To this movement, which was powerfully felt in the United States, belong the Moravian exclusive settlements both in Europe and America; such early American experiments as the Labadists in Maryland, the Society of the Woman in the Wilderness at Germantown, Pa., and the Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Pa.; and a group of German communities established in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, Missouri and Oregon in the first half of the nineteenth century.

It is not too much to say that every attempt to establish communism, which has grown out of the life and spirit of Christianity, has felt the influence of the example of the first Christians. For with every disturbance in the settled order of things, with every crumbling of the old foundations, such as the Reformation and other revolutionary movements witnessed, there has been a fresh return to the teachings of Jesus, a fresh study of the conditions and institutions of primitive Christianity, and, above all, a more or less conscious attempt to reproduce something of its social order.

But too much has been made of this so-called community of goods,<sup>1</sup> which prevailed among the first Christians, by a class of writers who seek to give to communism a divine sanction,

<sup>1</sup> Acts 2: 44, 45; 4: 32.

and who would solve the problem of the applicability of Christianity to modern social needs through a literal reproduction of the economic life of primitive Christianity. "It is certain," says Nitti, "that the early Christians practiced communism or community of goods. . . . They did not seek to acquire wealth; like Christ they sought to annihilate it. Christianity was a vast economic revolution more than anything else." "Apostolic Christianity," declares Herron, "took seriously the economic facts of the spiritual life. Men understood that in becoming Jesus' disciples it was incumbent upon them to surrender private interests." Says Todt: "The first Christian community was penetrated by the thought of the unity of interests. Each strove for all and all for each. In this striving they were communists. . . ."

To all such attempts to give to communism a divine sanction it may be replied that there is no evidence anywhere in the New Testament that what is reported in the book of Acts of the members of the congregation at Jerusalem became in any degree a general practice, as though enjoined by the teaching of Jesus. That the principles of communal ownership did not obtain general recognition beyond Jerusalem may be inferred from the sending of relief from Antioch by "every man according to his ability" to "the brethren which dwelt in Judea,"<sup>2</sup> as well as from the numerous injunctions to almsgiving contained in the writings of St. Paul. And even at Jerusalem communal ownership could not have been an absolute requirement; for the mother of Mark is known to have continued in possession of her home.<sup>3</sup> All that is actually said in the book of Acts is that a number of persons sold their property and gave the proceeds to be distributed among the poorer members. But this would not have been communism even if the gifts had been compulsory. That they were not compulsory, however, as though positively enjoined by the teaching of Jesus, is clearly shown by the words of St. Peter

<sup>2</sup> Acts 11: 29.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 12: 12.

to Ananias. What we see, therefore, at Jerusalem was not communism at all, not a duty imposed on the rich, not a right to be asserted by the poor, not even a general surrender of property; but simply a voluntary act of love, a generous almsgiving, which was not a community of ownership but only of use, which did not abrogate the right of private property, which did not enter into the sphere of production, and which did not abolish the distinctions between rich and poor.

While every age of the Christian Church has had its social experiments in imitation of the community of goods practiced by the first Christians, and in obedience to its supposed divine sanctions, religious communism is seen at its best in a group of communities established in the United States towards the close of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth. That the United States has been the chief theater of modern experiments in communism, both religious and secular, is not a matter of accident. Its comparative youth and greater plasticity, so attractive to the propagandist, its abundant and cheap lands removed from the corrupting influences of modern life, its agricultural and industrial possibilities, its political and religious liberty, all contributed to make the United States a century ago the most favorable place in the world for social experimentation and propagandism.

Only the broader features of this group of religious communities can be noted. It includes seven distinct societies established in the following order:

1. Shakers, 1787, at Mt. Lebanon, N. Y.
  2. Harmonists, 1805, at Harmony, Pa., removed to Harmony, Ind., 1814, and again to Economy, Pa., 1824.
  3. Zoarites, 1817, at Zoar, O.
  4. Inspirationists, 1842, at Buffalo, N. Y., removed to Amana, Ia., 1855.
  5. Bethel Commune, 1844, at Bethel, Mo.
  6. Perfectionists, 1848, at Oneida, N. Y.
  7. Aurora Commune, 1856, at Aurora, Ore.
- Thirty years ago all were still in existence, although with



the exception of the Inspirationists, who alone of the seven have increased in wealth and numbers in recent years, they were steadily declining. At that time the seven societies included seventy-one separate communes, of which number the Shakers had fifty-eight, the Inspirationists seven, the Perfectionists two, and the rest one each. The total membership was 5,228, scattered over thirteen States. At the present time only the Shakers, the Inspirationists, and a fragment of the Harmonists remain; and the total membership is not over 2,500, although the Shakers alone at one time had 6,000.

It is the commonly accepted opinion that communism cannot succeed industrially, that in making the common good the ruling motive and giving to each a feeling of security against want, it takes away the most powerful incentive to individual enterprise and energy. This is not borne out by the experience of these communities; for not only have all attained more than the average degree of comfort, but some have also accumulated considerable wealth. In 1874 they owned 180,000 acres of land, and their total wealth was conservatively estimated at \$12,000,000. In 1886 Professor Ely placed the wealth of the Zoarites at \$1,500,000, which was at least five times the *per capita* wealth of the United States. The wealth of both the Shakers and the Harmonists is now counted in millions.

The chief industry in all these communities was agriculture, and as a rule they made excellent farmers. While only the Perfectionists subordinated agriculture to manufacturing, considerable attention was given by the others to such lines of manufacture as the making of woolen fabrics, clothing, food products and household utensils, not only for their own needs but also for trade. Their reputation for honest dealing and the high quality of their goods gradually extended their markets. But their success stirred their ambition to amass wealth, and the consequence was that they multiplied their shops to such a degree that they were compelled to depend very largely on outside labor. Thus at Harmony the hired laborers are said at one time to have outnumbered the members ten to one.

It is claimed by the modern communist, as one of the strongest recommendations of the system, that it does not require a life of hard toil. The claim appears to be substantiated by these communities. As a rule the members took life easy after the pioneer stage had been passed. They labored steadily but not exhaustingly; and everything proceeded in a quiet, leisurely manner, without excitement or stagnation but with the utmost system. In their farm work, as well as in their shops and homes, they employed all sorts of labor-saving devices, for labor was not regarded as a sacrament, but only as a means of securing the comforts of life. With their regular habits and simple wants, their sobriety in eating and drinking, their wholesome food and sanitary surroundings, their freedom from worry and care, all of which make for industrial efficiency and the prolongation of the period of productive activity, these communities have fully demonstrated that where wealth is equally distributed exhausting toil is not necessary in order to secure a high degree of comfort, and at the same time make ample provision for those who are incapacitated by age or disease.

In the matter of intelligence they were fully up to the average when measured by the standards of the peasant and artisan classes from which they sprang. In all the communities excellent educational facilities of an elementary character were provided, and much attention was given to manual training and the religious instruction of the young. With the exception of the Perfectionists none tolerated anything like a liberal education. The aesthetic side of life was little cultivated. Some attention was given to music; but other forms of art, the theater and amusements generally were tabooed. Beauty and grace were universally despised, and in some of the communities the dress of the women was designed with the express purpose of making the wearer unattractive to the other sex.

With respect to marriage there was no fixed practice. The Shakers and Harmonists were strict celibates although the latter permitted marriage at first. The Perfectionists had for a time what they called collective marriage, a mixture of po-

lygyny and polyandry. Instead of one man being tied to one woman all were tied together, as they put it. Such an arrangement, they maintained, was logically required by communism, since the principle of exclusive ownership is in reality no more applicable to persons than to things. The outside world called it free love, but the charge was denied on the ground that the relations between the sexes were not left to caprice, but were entered into with religious ceremony and thoughtfulness. The practice finally aroused such a storm of public protest that it was abandoned and monogamy introduced. Among the remaining communities the family relation was held in high honor. Each family had its separate household, although at Amana all took their meals in common dining halls. This was the only approach to the "unitary" household among the non-celibate societies.

The government varied from pure democracy to the most absolute sort of paternalism. Thus at Zoar all the officials were elected, and could be removed at any time, by a majority vote of the members. At Harmony, on the other hand, they were appointed for life by the spiritual head of the community who was in no way responsible to the membership. The Shakers have what may be called a dual government. It is based on the principle of the perfect equality of the sexes in all honors, duties, rights and privileges. No office can be served by one person or one sex; there must always be an equal number of each sex with an absolute parity of power. To forms of government, however, the communist is for the most part indifferent. Any government will satisfy him that will secure the absolute subordination of the individual's will to the common interest.

Each community had a positive religious faith. With the exception of the Shakers and Perfectionists they were of German origin, the product of the revolt against the established churches of Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This movement took different forms and its adherents were variously known as Pietists, Mystics, Inspirationists

and Chiliasts; and when they carried their opposition so far as to withdraw from the established churches they were also called Separatists. The Harmonists were Mystics with decided millennial views. The Zoarites were Mystics and Separatists, who rejected oaths, titles, church ordinances and ceremonies, and the bearing of arms. The principal dogma of the Inspirationists was that God from time to time still inspires certain persons, and through them as his chosen instruments declares his will. The Bethel and Aurora communities rejected all forms and ceremonies in religion and held that the essence of all Christianity is unselfishness.

Of the non-German sects the Shakers were pronounced spiritualists. While of English origin ethnologically they trace their views to the Camisards, who originated in France early in the eighteenth century, and whose doctrines spread rapidly to other countries, notably England, where some Quakers adopted them. From the violent agitations and trappings which seized them during their meetings they were called "Shaking Quakers," and later "Shakers." The Perfectionists are of purely American origin. Their distinctive doctrine, from which they derived their name, is that the Gospel provides for complete salvation from sin, not, however, through the performance of any prescribed duties, but only through spiritual intercourse with God.

In the case of all these communities religion was the primary interest and governing principle. Communism was either only the outgrowth of that religion after the manner of the first Christians, or else it was simply a practical measure to preserve the integrity of the group and enable it better to cherish its peculiar beliefs. The communism was for the sake of the religion. It was not for temporal and material ends but for the salvation of the soul; not to solve great social problems, but to make possible a better living of the true Christian life; not to provide a vantage point for social reconstruction, but to afford a retreat for the free exercise of certain opinions.

2. In passing from religious to secular communism we enter

at once a different atmosphere. For communism of the secular type is not only an economic movement, but it is also ambitious and aggressive. Instead of isolating itself from the world for the maintenance of certain religious opinions, it contemplates the ultimate subjection of the world to its principles and the complete transformation of society through its efforts. But until the world is ready for such reconstruction, communism must content itself with the more moderate program of organizing small communities here and there, which, when once established, will attract outsiders, and be followed by one community after another, until every civilized society is organized on a communistic basis.

The philosophy of secular communism was first formulated by Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*, published in 1516. But it is not probable that More regarded the state which he described in that romance as anything more than a highly ideal state of society. It was a mere dream far removed from actual life. Tommaso Campanella's *Civitas Soli*, a century later was cast on similar lines. It was not until the French Revolution, which was an economic, as well as a political movement, that men began to regard the communistic organization of society as something to be realized at no distant date. For this new point of view the writings of Morelly and Mably were primarily responsible. The former in his *Code de la Nature* (1775) taught that man possesses every virtue of nature, and is only depraved by bad institutions, the chief of which is private property; and that it would be "in conformity with the intentions of nature if every citizen contributed to the resources of the state in accordance with his strength, talents and age, and in return were wholly maintained at the public expense." In his *Doutes proposés aux philosophies économistes sur l'ordre naturel des sociétés* (1768), and again in his *Traité de la Legislation* (1776), Mably maintained that private property in land has been the great source of avarice, ambition and vanity, and that it is not the natural and necessary basis

of society. But while the French Revolution did make communism infinitely more real and tangible, and while it did inspire the conspiracy of Baboeuf in 1796, as well as other attempts to realize the supposed blessings of communism, it was not itself a communistic movement. It had in fact quite the contrary effect, for by creating a great number of small freeholders it really strengthened, instead of weakened, the institution of private property.

This movement towards practical communism awakened by the French Revolution spent its force in the course of the first half of the nineteenth century. In the United States, the chief, if not the only, theater of modern communism, it consisted of three distinct waves which are associated with the names of Robert Owen, Étienne Cabet and Charles Fourier. The movement declined rapidly after the middle of the century, for after the revolution of 1848 socialism, the theory that the income of society should be received by labor, not that it should be divided equally, engrossed the interest of social regenerators.

(a) Whatever influence the writings of More, Campanella, Mably and Morelly may have had upon Owen in his later career, it is certain that he first approached communism from the side of experience. It has been noted that after his failure to enlist the interest and co-operation of the government and nobility in his schemes—for he was a paternalistic communist and firmly believed that social reconstruction would have to proceed from the upper classes—he turned his attention to America. There he purchased in 1824, with his own money, the village of Harmony in Indiana, which he renamed New Harmony, for £28,000. The Harmonists had formerly lived in Pennsylvania and were about to return to that State for climatic reasons after a residence of ten years in Indiana. Owen at once advertised for settlers and a “heterogeneous collection of radicals, enthusiastic devotees to principle, honest latitudinarians and lazy theorists, with a sprinkling of unprincipled sharpers thrown in,” responded. In a few weeks

nine hundred had come. Communism was not established at first, but for a time the principle prevailed of remunerating each one according to his services. After a few months the principle of equality, modified by difference of need, was adopted; and a little later permanent marriage was abolished. The latter was formally accomplished on July 4, 1826, and the day was triumphantly hailed by the *New Harmony Gazette*, the organ of the settlement, as "the beginning of the fifty-first year of American and the first of Mental Independence."

The settlement was a flat failure from the start, although established under the most favorable material conditions imaginable. It began with a ready-made village and everything belonging to it, a number of orchards and vineyards, and three thousand acres of land under cultivation, all in excellent condition and free from debt. The experiment was thus spared the necessity of passing through the pioneer stage of existence, which wrecked so many similar attempts both before and since. But these manifest external advantages could neither prevent nor arrest internal dissensions. The heterogeneous elements which had responded to Owen's invitation proved too divergent to agree on anything for any length of time. They could not even agree on the particular kind of communism they wanted, nor on the particular manner in which it was to be accomplished. Matters of government, too, proved a fruitful source of dissension. This may be inferred from the fact that during its brief existence the settlement had no less than seven different constitutions. But most important of all, there was lacking the cohesive power of a common religion. Religious thought was unfettered, and from the beginning religion was the constant topic of disagreement.

To this chronic state of disagreement on fundamental matters but one issue was possible. In less than two years Owen was reluctantly compelled to declare the experiment at an end, after he had sunk in it £40,000, four fifths of his entire fortune.



Attempts were made to form smaller communities out of the ruins and establish communism on a more moderate scale, and with more harmonious elements. But these, too, failed.

When Owen returned to Europe he found the coöperative movement in full swing, led by his former followers and based on principles he had advocated in 1817 in his famous report to a committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws. He at once fell in with the movement in the hope of leading it gradually to communism. But here he failed again, for after 1836 the movement declined rapidly. This was owing to two main causes. First, the time was unpropitious, for the larger movements of political chartism, free trade and trades unionism were beginning to engross public attention, and Owen was unable to graft coöperation on any of these; and, secondly, it was based on the wrong principle, for, unlike the later and successful coöperative movement, it did not share the profits with the consumer, but set them aside against the time when they would be sufficient to establish communist villages, and when the masses, too, would be more fit for communism.

Besides New Harmony possibly ten or twelve other communities were established in the United States between 1825 and 1830 in accordance with Owen's ideas. But little is known of them. None lasted longer than three years, most of them much less.

LANCASTER, PA.



## VII

### NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE CITIES OF ST. PAUL, THEIR INFLUENCE ON HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT.

The Cities of Eastern Asia Minor. By Sir W. M. Ramsay, Kt., Hon. D.C.L., etc., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen. 3 and 5 W. 18th St., New York, A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pages xv + 452. Price \$3.00 net.

Professor Ramsay needs no introduction to the students of primitive Christianity and particularly of Paul and the Pauline regions of Asia Minor. He is one of the greatest living authorities on the origin and spread of the church in the Phrygian territory and on the relation of his environment to the life and writings of the Apostle to the Gentiles. He writes as an original investigator and an independent thinker. "It is not my aim," he says, "to give a history of opinion, or to balance and weigh the views of the learned. Any small value which this book may have is due to its expressing a judgment formed fresh from the original documents and the actual localities, not from a study of the modern authorities, many of whom I find so antipathetic that they have little for me." He, accordingly, does not cover the beaten tracks of historians and commentators, but throws new light in every chapter on the text of Paul's writings, on the development of his life and views, and on the relation of the church to the Greek and Roman worlds. He is bold to differ from what he calls "the fashionable opinions" of modern times and to advance views which contradict the conclusions of leading authorities. All this makes his book fresh, interesting, suggestive and inspiring. One may not always find his arguments conclusive and yet feel gratified with the originality and acumen of the author. He is evidently aware of the opposition which he will arouse in the reader's mind, for he says, "it is the penalty of stating a new view of history that one must inevitably fail to carry conviction at first, however confident one is that the world will one day be convinced."

The method and thoroughness of treatment will appear from the topics discussed, in the seven parts of the book, as follows: Paulinism in the Græco-Roman World, Tarsus, Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, Lystra, St. Paul in the Roman World. In the first part, which serves as an introduction (81 pages), the plan is, first to state the fundamental principles of Paul's historical survey; next

to contrast his view with the modern method; thirdly, to point out that his view in some degree may be regarded as a development of Hellenic thought; fourthly, to show the relation in which his thought and the cure which he proposed for the degeneration of society stood to the Roman world of his own and of succeeding time.

One of the positions for which he contends is that Paul cannot be historically understood if he is regarded simply as a Hebrew and not as a product of a union of the Oriental and Græco-Roman ideas in the cities of Asia Minor. "Yet there exists a widespread opinion that the Hebrew side of Paul's mind is the whole, and that you can comprehend his aims and thoughts fully by approaching him solely from the Hebrew side; and on account of that strong opinion, expressed emphatically for example by Professor Harnack often in quite recent writings, many regard it as mere presumption to state a different view" (p. 43). On the other hand, however, many scholars have discovered Hellenic elements in Paul's epistles. Some of the most learned Jews of modern times deny their Pauline authorship on the ground that "there is much in them which no Jew could write." Professor Ramsay agrees with the latter part of this statement but accounts for it by the fact that Paul by birth and training was more than a Jew. He was a citizen of a Greek city, Tarsus; and many things he learned in his childhood and youth from his hellenic surroundings. "Partly through the formal education needed to fit him for the sphere in which he was born, the Græco-Roman world, partly through unconscious assimilation of the atmosphere and spirit that breathed through Hellenized Tarsian society, his mind had been widened far beyond the narrow limits of the stereotyped Judaism. In fully conscious thought during his maturer years he broadened both Judaism and Hellenism till they were co-extensive with the world and coincident with one another." Here is a reason for the great debt that he felt he owed to the Greeks (Rom. 1:14). This, too, is the thesis which the author endeavors to prove by a comparative study of Paul's philosophy of history and that of the modern schools, by an analysis of Hellenism and Hebraism and a tracing of these elements in the epistles, and finally by showing the antithetic relation between the way of salvation offered by the newly organized empire and by the newly revealed gospel.

A protest is unexpectedly raised against "the fashionable modern scientific conception about the right method in the investigation of ancient religion." It is controlled by the assumption that there takes place normally a continuous development in religion, in thought, and in civilization, since primitive times,

and that such a development has been practically universal among the more civilized races. The primitive in religion is barbarous, savage, blood-thirsty and low in the scale of civilization and this type is still conserved in the savage tribes of the present day. Paul, on the contrary, considers the religion of savagery as the last stage of degeneration and not the first stage of progressive development. That which was really primitive, harmony with the order of nature and sympathy with the Divine, has been lost and the barbarism and idolatry of our age are the result of generations of apostasy from the original ideal. The author asks, "Who is right, Paul or the moderns?" He answers, "For my own part, I confess that my experience and reading show nothing to confirm the modern assumptions in religious history, and a great deal to confirm Paul." He then proceeds to give a reason for his conclusion in favor of the apostle by a study of Mediterranean history and the evolution and vicissitudes of its civilization. He says, after a most illuminating review of the several stages in the history of the peoples of the Levant, that a "consideration of the actual facts leads back to the same beginning as that which Paul assumes. In the remotest period of Mediterranean history to which human research can at present penetrate, if it restricts itself to the observation of facts and the drawing of cautious warrantable inferences from the facts—in that earliest period we have come, not to savages and Totemism and all the paraphernalia of primitive religion, as many of the moderns picture it to themselves and to their pupils, but to a theocracy, to an agency of prophecy who make known the will of the goddess to her people, to a well-justified belief in the motherly wisdom of the Divine being and the truth-speaking of the prophets" (p. 26).

Two things which Hellenism contributed to civilization are the unfettered development of the individual and an organized system of State education. The former Paul emphasized in particular in the epistle to the Galatians. Freedom is made by him a fundamental part of the Christian life. "We are justified in asserting that the freedom which he champions in the letter to the Galatians was the freedom which the world owes to the Greek civilization, a freedom, however, 'in which Grecian license mingles with and is toned by Christian principle.'" So far as education is concerned, it is a corollary of Paul's idea of Christian freedom. Freedom is the growth of education and true Christianity demands an educated people. The apostle's insistence on the fundamental truth that the higher life is a growth, a process of attaining to an end desired and struggled for, requires the education of the mind and the training in character. "In the Pastoral Epistles, where he approaches nearest

to the subject of the practical organization of a Christian society, the word 'teaching' becomes a characteristic term, occurring fifteen times in three short letters, whereas it occurs only four times in all the rest of his writings."

While the author's purpose is to treat Paul as a force and leader in history and not primarily as an inspired apostle, he would by no means claim that his personality and his message can be accounted for by a coalition of Hellenism and Hebraism in one individual. The best elements of these nationalities entered into his early life and became a part of him, yet it was only by the larger vision of Christ and the exalted viewpoint of Him risen and glorified that he could bring together on the higher plane of Christian thought and life all that was true and real in the pagan world. He not only proclaimed a gospel of salvation to the individual, but he also took a step in advance in Greek philosophy for the first time since Aristotle (p. 4). He had a new view of the world, of history, of humanity and of eternity. And into his life and theology entered the richest products of three nations—Hebrew, Greek and Roman. Yet without Christ these combined elements could not produce a Paul.

In the six parts which follow a detailed study of the geography, ethnography and civilization of the Galatian cities is presented. Space will not allow us to discuss the material in these sections. Suffice it to say that each chapter is based on an original study of data gathered by the personal researches of the author and throws new light on the historical factors which entered into the making of Paul the man, the missionary and the apostle. The biblical scholar and the historian will not rest satisfied before he has perused this book. The preacher and teacher will find it far from dry and prosy but rather stimulating and practical. A careful study of this volume will help one to treat in a new way many of the well-worn texts taken from the epistles of the great apostle.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

**CORPUS SCHWENCKFELDIANORUM.** Published under the auspices of the Schwenckfelder Church, Pennsylvania, and the Hartford Theological Seminary, Connecticut, U. S. A. Volume I. A Study of the Earliest Letters of Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig. Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907. Pages lxxi + 661. Price \$7.00 per volume.

This is the first of a series of seventeen volumes of a truly monumental work. It is to include not only the complete works of Schwenckfeld, but also the writings of "the chief authors who advocated the Middle Way." Among them are Valentine Craut-

wald, Fabian Eckel, Johann Sigismund Werner and eleven others who are named in the Introduction. The literary productions of these men have been largely forgotten and church historians have made little or no use of them. On the basis of the material thus gathered a biography of Schwenckfeld is being written by the editor Dr. Hartranft, which promises to be an original and valuable contribution to the history of the protestant movement of the sixteenth century. A work of this kind is not the product of a day. It has been in process of preparation for twenty years. During the last four years, the editor in chief, two associate editors and a number of clerks have given their entire time to the preparation of the first volume. The selection of Dr. Hartranft for the gathering and editing of the material was a peculiarly happy one. He is a descendant of the Schwenckfelders of Pennsylvania, for years he was president of the Hartford Theological Seminary, and is a scholar of ripe experience and national repute. He has both a native enthusiasm and an acquired fitness for the performance of the task laid upon him. When one remembers that with the publication of the first volume \$40,000 have been expended, the question arises whence came the sinews of war? It must be recorded to the praise of a community of 250 families of Schwenckfelders living in Bucks and Montgomery Counties, Pa., that the greater portion of the money came from them. It shows a deep interest in their religious heritage no less than an actual sacrifice for a noble cause. The editor also acknowledges his indebtedness for financial aid to the Hartford Theological Seminary and to generous friends of the cause, some of whom are named and others not. The publication of the succeeding volumes will depend largely upon the sale of the first, and upon the subscriptions to the complete series.

The form and structure of this book are commensurate with the scope of the work. In this respect it is a masterpiece of the German printer's and binder's art. In the Advertisement, pp. ix, a brief history of the steps taken in the publication since 1884 is given. The Introduction, pp. x-lxviii, contains an extended analysis of the tenets of Schwenckfeld, a correction of misrepresentations of his positions by historians of the state churches, and an acknowledgment of aid received from institutions, libraries, men and women in Europe and America. A Bibliography of 3 pages follows. The body of the volume contains 7 original documents—the earliest letters of Schwenckfeld. Each letter, which usually covers no more than two to five pages, is translated from the Latin or German into English and treated at length under sections with the following captions: Bibliography, Text, Translation, Language, History, Theology. Thus to the letter addressed to Johann Hess and extending over two

and a half pages, 25 pages, excluding the Latin text, are devoted to translation, historical data, and linguistic and theological analysis. There are in all 37 pages of documents; and 612 pages are used for analysis, exposition and comments. Separate indexes of Persons and Places, of Texts, and of Church Fathers are appended. The editor describes and justifies the arrangement of the material in this form and the method of treatment in the following words: "This particular study is designed to present a few of the first letters of Schwenckfeld in a form approaching as nearly as possible to the original; the text is preceded by a description of each manuscript or book, as the case may be. The translation and the analytic sections are intended to put the material into a more popular and educational form, especially to enable the membership of the Schwenckfelder Church to understand the nature and scope of their own history and the deep roots of their evangelicalism. They have a Reformation and linguistic history of which they can be justly proud, and a record of biblical thought and life which is unique and has in it imperishable seed. This should be developed step by step in its utmost minutia in order to determine its correlations with other schools of thought and its own internal worth. No other method can reach this end."

The sketch of the religious teachings and spirit of Schwenckfeld in the Introduction is especially noteworthy. The author is right when he departs from the standpoint of the old protestant historians who considered the Silesian reformer "solely from his approximation to or divergence from Luther, with occasional references to his differences from theologians of the Strassburg and Swiss types, and dismissed him with a paragraph or section on his doctrine of the Word and his Christology." The chief question is not what was Schwenckfeld as a theologian "with a pet dogma or two," but what was he as a man, a reformer, and an influence in his day and on future generations? In a series of eleven propositions he defines the salient characteristics and teachings of his hero, for a hero he makes him indeed. The author finds in his writings "the kernel of modernity." "He had a prophetic insight into the requirements of the future life of the Church and we may justly claim that modern Christianity is approximating his views. . . . For we believe that he saw further into the futuristic vista than most of his compeers. His radical thoughts underlie the deepened vitalism of our age in all directions."

He defends him against the misnomers of the historians. He denies that he was a mystic in the technical sense of that term, or an enthusiast or a visionary. He was on the contrary guided by the Scriptures, sober in his judgment and calm in his writings,

though he was spiritual, zealous, and idealistic. He and his associates upheld the neglected ideals of a "religion of the heart and of freedom of worship according to the dictates of the individual conscience." But through the influence of the national churches these principles were suppressed for centuries. The author goes so far as to claim that in the light of these investigations the history of the reformation will have to be rewritten.

It is to be expected that one who has spent so much time and labor on this particular subject will become thoroughly filled with it, and in his zeal to give due credit to a much persecuted and long neglected reformer will become one-sided and immoderate in his claims. In his effort to find the principles of modern liberal, ethical, and practical Christianity in the writings of Schwenckfeld, he is in great danger of reading present ideas into his author. The editor needs not to be told that the Ritschlians find the doctrines of their school in Luther properly interpreted, and that there is an extensive revival of interest in Zwingli on the ground that he was the most modern of all the reformers. There are those, also, who would uphold Calvin as the theologian who fits exactly into the twentieth century. In fact the "kernel of modernity" is found in all the leading reformers but the limitations of their age did not permit a consistent unfolding and application of those ideas. In one sense neither Luther nor Zwingli was thoroughly understood; and it is a question whether they themselves realized the logical consequences of all they taught. Schwenckfeld doubtless emphasized aspects of truth which were rejected by his time and by the churches of succeeding centuries, yet it would be making a bold claim to say that he was the great prophet of modernism any more than the Wittenbergers, Zurichers, or Genevans. It is conceded generally that the sectarians of the reformation contended for principles which at the time were rejected and have since become the common possession of protestantism. Their history needs to be rewritten, and it will not do to pass them by with a measure of contempt as radicals or deformers. Still it is not only running counter to the judgment of historians but to the evident part of Schwenckfeld and his descendants in the history of three centuries to assume that he has been a prominent factor in the molding of modern Christianity. For some inexplicable and yet significant reason he has been practically forgotten; and how far this belated effort to revive his memory and to give him his true place in Christian history will succeed, remains to be seen. He only can be considered an historic leader who turns his ideals into deeds and incorporates them in historical institutions. In this regard Schwenckfeld failed, for not more than 250 families survive and profess to be his followers.



The documents in this volume are dissected and inspected in a microscopic way. Never have the writings of a church father, a schoolman, a reformer, or a theologian been published with so minute and detailed expositions. Every word and letter are discussed. The erudition displayed is marvellous and the refined analyses are probably unparalleled. It does seem that 612 pages of exposition for 37 pages of documents, which are only personal letters, is a somewhat unwarranted expenditure of space and may interfere with the practical value of the publication. Of course the work is not intended for scholars only, but for the Schwenckfelder community which has taken so important a part in its publication. This may justify the effort to expound the letters in the simplest and most extended form possible. The author himself says: "Doubtless this analytic and commentative method is open to a number of criticisms. One may say you are in danger of constant repetition. If it is a danger, we would gladly incur it; for it is only by continuous reaffirmation that one can get a hearing under the stolid system of orthodoxy which has shaped historic judgment and style." We question the wisdom of this method. Mere repetition will not produce the desired effect. It has a tendency to dull rather than to sharpen the attention of the reader.

There are a number of errors in the proof-reading, more indeed than one usually finds in a work of this kind coming from a German press. The editor, also, takes delight in the use of long and strange terms which do not improve his style. Among others we may cite the following for whose usage there is no sanction in the Standard Dictionary: "commentational," "beforehand-ness," "futuristic," "well-beholden."

In so large a work one cannot expect perfection nor should one allow minor errors to eclipse the great value of the publication. It will be the classic source of the Schwenckfelder movement for all time to come. It is the result of thorough scholarship, painstaking investigations, and indefatigable toil. It is well worth a place in every prominent library of the country. The writings of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, etc., are published in new editions. A complete collection of sixteenth century sources will require the Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

ERASMUS: The Scholar. By John Alfred Faulkner, Professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary. New York, Eaton & Mains. Pages 249. Price \$1.00 net.

This volume belongs to a series entitled, "Men of the Kingdom." The biographies of the leading men of the Church in the several ages are presented to the public in popular style. Those



which have thus far appeared are: Cyprian The Churchman, Athanasius The Hero, Augustine The Thinker, Chrysostom The Orator, Peter The Hermit, and Luther The Leader. The volumes are described "as short biographical, anecdotal, luminous character sketches of some of the greatest leaders, thinkers, and saints of the Church in all ages; of the spacious times in which they lived; what they felt and thought; what they did; what their place in history. and the message they have for the men of to-day." The authors are men of ability and capable of handling the subject assigned them.

Perhaps no man wielded a greater influence in the sixteenth century than Erasmus. Yet the average student knows little about him, which is largely due to the fact that the interest of historians has centered more in the reformers than in the humanists. But both in his relation to protestantism and Romanism Erasmus was an epoch-making personality. The modern age cannot be understood without a study of his writings and the tracing of his influence. In the last decades more than a score of volumes relating to his life and work have been published in Germany and England. This indicates a revival of interest in the Prince of Humanists, which is doubtless due to kindred tendencies in our day.

The author divides his work into twenty brief chapters. He presents an illuminating analysis of the men and ideals of the renaissance in the first chapter. This serves as a background to Erasmus' life. He was both a creator and a creature of the movement known as the revival of literature. The first part of the book is devoted to the events of his life; the second, to a study of his principal writings; and the third, to an estimate of the man as a controversialist, a pioneer of peace, a pedagogue, and a theologian. In an appendix two topics are discussed: Erasmus and the Pronunciation of Greek and Did Erasmus Forge the Pseudo-Cyprianic *De Duplici Martyrio*.

The book is in harmony with the purpose of the series and will interest the general reader. It will serve, also, as an introduction to a more extensive study of the man and his writings. The chapters on *The Adages*, *The Praise of Folly*, *The Greek New Testament*, and *The Colloquies* are especially valuable for their clear and concise statements of his leading ideas as well as for a genetic presentation of his compositions. The book will stimulate thought and help one to understand the tendencies of the last four centuries.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

**THE ATONING LIFE.** By Henry Sylvester Nash, Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge. New York, The Macmillan Company. Pages 148. Price \$1.00 net.

The writer of this little book is already well known as the author of "Ethics and Revelation," "Genesis of the Social Conscience," and "The History of the Higher Criticism of the New Testament." These are all thoughtful and suggestive books; but the little volume under review especially brings into strong light the author's ability to put into clear, pithy, epigrammatic form, truths of such far-reaching fundamental significance that they penetrate the mind and become seed-thoughts the development of which will throw light upon many a troublesome problem in human thought and experience.

Salvation, of course, has an individual aspect, and, to be real, it must bring the individual into vital relation to and fellowship with God. This fact comes home to every man in his experience as a Christian. Unfortunately the wider significance of it, salvation in its social aspect, is often overlooked; and it is undoubtedly true that in the development of Christian doctrine, particularly the doctrine of the atonement, undue stress has been laid upon the individual's relation to God. The atonement, from this point of view, is regarded as a transaction by which the individual receives the forgiveness of sins, peace and pardon, and, in consequence, a life of communion and fellowship with God and with those who, in like manner, are members of the kingdom. Professor Nash, without overlooking the importance of individuality, approaches the subject from the side of its social aspect, and insists that the central thought of the gospel, in which the love of God is supremely manifest, is the idea of the kingdom of God, and the soul of this kingdom is law. "The whole being and power of God, the innermost being of things, and the uttermost resources of the invisible universe are pledged to the realization of the kingdom of God." Law is defined as "the corporate will into which individuals, in proportion to their individuality, build their several wills." Hence appears the nature of human freedom: "God's will takes our will up into itself without destroying it. We know that the nearer our approach to Him and the clearer our vision of His being and beauty, the deeper goes the root of individuality in us, the closer becomes our grip on ourselves, the more do we abound in our own sense. In the full round of Christian experience man's freedom is found to be God's holiest gift."

Accepting the idea of the kingdom as fundamental, the author proceeds to show that the creative activity of God, whose essential characteristic is love, goes forth for the purpose of realizing this kingdom; and so does man's activity when touched by the divine

spark of love. "The pith of divine and human reality is the creative will that founds and upholds good society. This will is the spring and source of law. The aim of the law is the individuality of those whom it governs." But confronting this activity is the ugly fact of sin—a dreadful reality in human experience in both its individual and social aspects. This is met by the divine love in the form of forgiveness, which "is the self-defense of the law against attack," through which "it puts forth new and creative powers" and "heals its own wounds." The atonement, therefore, is involved in the atoning life and springs from the very nature and constitution of the creative life in all its forms, divine and human, entering into the miseries, pains, and sorrows of life, bearing them with healing energy, and working for the uplifting of the whole mass, the coming of the kingdom of God. "Atonement and forgiveness are not two facts related to one another as cause and effect. When we so conceive them, we make artificial difficulties for reason. They do not constitute a sequence in time. If we put them in that light, we are bound to mistake the inmost meaning of both. The Atonement is the secret of forgiveness, the process and action of the living will which through forgiveness publishes the moral law, not on Sinai, but in the heart of the offender."

Perhaps this may suffice to indicate the author's trend of thought, but a few extracts from the book are altogether insufficient to indicate the wealth of thought which it contains. It has not spoken the last word on the atonement, but it opens up a line of thought and discussion which cannot fail to be exceedingly helpful to all earnest seekers after the truth.

JOHN S. STAHR.

**GLORIA CHRISTI.** An Outline Study of Missions and Social Progress.

By Anna Robertson Brown Lindsay, Ph.D. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907. Pages vi + 302. Price \$0.50 net.

**THE NEARER AND FARTHER EAST.** Outline Studies of Moslem Lands and of Siam, Burma, and Korea. By Samuel M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S., and Arthur Judson Brown, D.D. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908. Pages ix + 325. Price \$0.50 net.

These books are published under the auspices of a committee representing various Women's Missionary Societies, and are the seventh and eighth volumes of the series. The first volumes were published under Latin titles, such as "Via Christi," "Lux Christi," etc. The committee has come to see the disadvantages of this plan, and in the future the Latin titles will be superseded by more accurately descriptive terms, such as "The Beginnings of Missions," "India," "China," "Japan," etc.

The production of satisfactory missionary literature requires

the highest degree of literary art. Conditions in missionary lands are so different from those that prevail in America that it is almost impossible to form just impressions. Not all missionaries and travelers succeed in getting the right perspective, and of those who do few possess the ability to paint in words the pictures that they see. Too often the pictures that they attempt are caricatures. It is therefore a most commendable work that has been undertaken by the Central Committee and by the Young People's Missionary Movement. Similar series should be projected for men and for children.

Miss Lindsay's book covers the same ground as the three bulky volumes of Dennis on "Christian Missions and Social Progress." Its merits are that it is brief, comprehensive and quite up-to-date. The author might have done still better if she had suppressed more of the details and portrayed some of the phases of the work in a more distinct and interesting manner.

Dr. Zwemer has become a great authority on Islam. His aim in the brief study before us is to refute two kinds of objectors to missions among the Mohammedans, those who hold that they are unnecessary because Islam is a theistic religion, and those who hold that they are impossible because Mohammedans cannot be converted to Christianity. The study is very illuminating. We believe, however, that thinking men facing the problem of the Mohammedan world desire to know not only how rotten Islam has become, but also to what elements it owes its power as a religion.

Dr. Brown has no superior as a missionary writer. Having personally visited Siam, Burmah and Korea he knows whereof he speaks, and his descriptions of these fields not only satisfy our desire for the latest information concerning them, but they are in themselves models of missionary literature.

C. Noss.

**THE CREED OF A LAYMAN.** *Apologia pro Fide Mea.* By Frederic Harrison. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907. Pages 394. Price \$1.75. See page 384.